

**Five Odd Bodkin's strips the Chronicle didn't print.**



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## AN EXPOSE - The life and hard times of Dan O'Neill

By Bruce B. Brugmann

And it came to pass that Dan O'Neill begat Fred and Hugh, which begat the bat-winged hamburger snatcher, which begat Bruce the highway patrolman, which begat the were-chicken of Petaluma, which begat Sam the All-American dog, which begat the Lesser Hoo Hoo, which begat \$5 Bill, which begat Bucky Bug, which begat Little Billy Weathercock, which begat the Blot.

The Blot, ladies and gentlemen, is the Nemesis, a sinister black glob accidentally released from a bottle by Bucky Bug. He soared forth during the last weeks of O'Neill's comic strip in The Chronicle, setting off the Doomsday Device with missiles, then gloating "I see by my phantom blot wristwatch that the world will be over in four minutes hahahahahahaha hahahahahahaha."

The explosion is two minutes late, the Blot mutters "only one person could have foiled me," he pulls his pistol. Out of the sky come Mickey Mouse riding Pluto armed with a sub-machine gun. The Blot and Pluto square off and, in the gun battle, the Blot crumples to the ground.

"Well?" says Mickey Mouse as Pluto examines the corpse with a smoking submachine gun. "The usual--just an empty costume," says Pluto.

The whole business is strangely symbolic, these last few weeks of O'Neill, and in particular the last week The Chronicle wouldn't run: the Blot, the bomb, the end of the world, the O'Neill apocalypse. You've got to read it on a couple of levels.

One is Dan O'Neill himself: his personal and intellectual odyssey, which began with Fred and Hugh in self-contained gags evolving slowly to more mature characters and continuing stories that often deal, in their way, more directly and honestly than do editorial writers with drugs, revolution, identity, war, politics, the weathermen, the Marin Civic Center shootout.

There's the bat-winged hamburger snatcher, devoted to wiping out the All-American hamburger. There's Sam the 100 per cent American Dog, who succeeds in driving Carl Marks, the Commie Turtle, back into his shell ("Hooray! Sam the 100 per cent American Dog has contained communism.")

O'Neill's last strips seemed to parallel in many ways his battles with The Chronicle--he got only miserly wages (even his last contract paid him less than the lowliest Chron reporter), The Chronicle never promoted him much, twice Publisher Charles de Young Thieriot tried to drop him, but was forced to buckle when O'Neill's audience rose in anger. (See P. 16 box.)

When O'Neill draws the Blot, he sees The Chronicle. When he sees The Chronicle, he sees the Establishment. When he sees the Establishment, he sees the end of the world. When he sees the end of the world, he gets on his Norton and heads for the hills to make a new world for himself and his readers. "With fantasy, I think I can get a grasp on reality," O'Neill says.

If The Chronicle is the Blot, then who is O'Neill in the strip? Is he the caterpillar, knowing

all, fearing none, calmly getting stoned and offering everybody tea "with one lump or two?"

Or is he Bucky Bug, dreadfully scared, and obviously intimidated when the Blot asks him, in the last 15 minutes till doomsday, "Still the goody, goody liberal, eh, bug?"

The Blot, you will recall, turned out to be an empty costume, a facade with nothing behind it, an empty threat.

Perhaps getting fired by The Chronicle, losing its vast readership and its features syndicate, is no more threatening to O'Neill. "I'm sorry to be leaving The Chronicle, but I'm taking my audience with me," he says.

How would O'Neill take his audience with him?

He was already at work on this contingency plan when the Blot began swaggering about his strip and Chronicle editors began putting heat on O'Neill.

(His copy was late, there were misspellings, they couldn't reach him by phone, telegraph or canal boat, the number of his syndicate papers had dwindled to a handful, his editor Stan Arnold found O'Neill had put a particularly piquant swear word in Morse Code. "Fortunately, I know Morse Code and was able to catch it," Arnold said. (The upshot: O'Neill never answered The Chronicle pleas-- "I'm on strike until they stop censoring me." The Chronicle says it fired him.)



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## Who is this man?



He's Joseph Mazzola of the Plumbers Union, and he's one of the key labor leaders who are exercising great political power in San Francisco. For an exclusive account of their activities, see labor writer Dick Meister's report beginning on page 2.

*Developing the waterfront-*

## It's like building a high-rise in Golden Gate Park

By Richard Reinhardt

Although many well-justified attacks have been made on the moves to hand over San Francisco's choice waterfront to U.S. Steel and company, few have questioned the faulty financial assumptions which have been advanced to support the scheme.

The Port Commission has claimed, in essence, that there is an eager demand for \$160 million in new and improved maritime facilities -- and that these should be paid for, in part, by extracting commercial revenues from supposedly surplus port facilities on the Embarcadero.

But what are the real needs and aspirations of the Port? Why does Mayor Alioto and his Port Commission want the proposed U.S. Steel tower and the Ferry Port Platform to be situated on harbor property, right at the water's edge?

Why not elsewhere in the city -- in the Yerba Buena redevelopment area south of Market St., for example?

The Port Commission is a city agency. Its role is to maintain, police, service and lease

out the maritime and non-maritime facilities of the bay waterfront from Fort Mason through Fisherman's Wharf, the Embarcadero, the Potrero shore, Islais Creek, India Basin and the Bayview district.

In a sense, the Port is no different from any other city department. Yet, technically and psychologically, it is separate from the city that owns it. The people who administer the harbor tend to think of it as a wholly independent agency.

This sense of separate identity, this special agency mentality, is an important factor in the present situation. It gives the Port officials a feeling that they can and should proceed with development plans without any particular regard for the present and future well-being of other elements in the

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# LABOR POWER

The current controversy over development of San Francisco's waterfront — surely the most significant dispute in the city's recent history — stems in large part from the strong political influence of organized labor.

But just how great is that influence? And what else has it been used for, besides pressing for approval of U.S. Steel's plans for high-rise development on the waterfront?

Where does the influence come from? What does labor give in return? What does it mean for the rest of the community?

In the following article, labor writer Dick Meister answers these and other pertinent questions about a major political phenomenon that has never before been examined closely in San Francisco.

By Dick Meister

Mayor Joseph Alioto of San Francisco was only slightly exaggerating — if he was exaggerating at all — when he promised to run a city administration "that will first of all be sympathetic to organized labor."

By now, three years after Alioto made the pledge in response to labor's decisive efforts in his election, San Francisco's unions have probably more political power than they have had in more than a half-century.

And that is a great deal of power indeed — at least as much as that of unions in any other city, and at least as much as that of any other particular groups within San Francisco.

"Nobody can make an important decision without considering us," is the way one union

leader puts it. "Nobody — not the Board of Supervisors, not anybody out in the community ...."

The unions always have had great political influence, even to the extent of electing their own mayor and full board of supervisors through the old Union Labor Party in the early 1900s. But never has their influence been so strong; never have they had such easy access to City Hall, and never were they heeded more in the decision-making that goes on there.

The influence, broadly-speaking, is a liberal influence, although on some issues — U.S. Steel's waterfront project, for one — many in the community may find it to be downright reactionary.

Overall, labor's influence nevertheless has benefited the community in general — not just those who are affiliated with organized labor, but also the businessmen, professional people and others who stand above union members on the social and economic scale, and the minority group members and others who stand below them.

Politics being what they are, however, the benefits are not granted equally or in nearly sufficient amounts for those who really need them. Even some unions are more equal than others in City Hall.

## 'Full partner'

Before Alioto, union representatives were appointed only to some city commissions and boards; today, they serve on all of them. This means, as another union man notes, that organized labor is "smack in the middle of the administration ... a full partner."

The unions naturally must contend with other forces, and on many issues they take the lead of business and other groups — often eagerly.

But on those issues involving trade union matters, labor's position is almost invariably dominant. There was no question, for instance, but that the Board of Supervisors would vote for the city to join the union-sponsored grape boycott.

Supervisors do not necessarily need labor's endorsement to win election, as witness the current board chairman, Dianne Feinstein. But it is of great help to most candidates, if only because of the campaign workers that come with it.

## Union help

Mrs. Feinstein again to the contrary, candidates usually do need union help to draw the large vote totals that are a prerequisite to choice assignments on supervisory committees.

Thus most supervisors — even the most conservative — will but rarely challenge unions on their home grounds; the anti-union stigma would be a heavy burden in highly-unionized San Francisco.

Unions also can expect city help in major strikes against recalcitrant employers, including even city departments. More often than not, the mayor will step in to try to convince the employers to settle.

No other mayor has been as active or as seemingly successful in this field of political mediation. One recalls, to cite just a few examples, the newspaper strike of 1968, last year's faculty strike at San Francisco State College, and the strikes this year by city employees and Teamster truck drivers.

## Police help

As under previous mayors, unions also can expect police to be very sympathetic should strikers get a little rough on the picket line, as they frequently do in San Francisco, or should strikers call in masses of pickets despite court orders to the contrary.

The police Department's Tactical Squad is there, presto, to manhandle any young political demonstrators. But it's rare for police to violate what one union leader calls "the unwritten agreement" and arrest strikers who physically block people from crossing their picket lines — even if they do it with noisy,



William Chester  
ILWU Vice-President



Dave Jenkins  
veteran ILWU leader

violent and illegally massive picket lines.

Further, there are City Hall pressures on employers who resist unionization. Consider the curious case of Viking Delivery Service, a non-union freight hauler at San Francisco International Airport.

Earlier this year, pickets from Local 85 of the Teamsters Union demanded the Viking hire Teamster drivers and, when the firm refused, they expressed their displeasure in such acts as smashing truck windshields.

Alioto did not ban the pickets from the airport, however. He banned Viking Delivery Service.

And the mayor allowed Viking to resume pickup and delivery operations only after a federal order was issued against the Teamster picketing — and after warning he would reinstate the ban against the firm if the Teamsters did not abide by the federal order. (They did.)

Unions also are assured of steady mayoral pressure for construction projects that will provide work for union members, the U.S. Steel development being only the latest in an impressive series.

In return for all this and more, Joseph Alioto has been guaranteed the solid political base absolutely essential to his election as mayor, and essential to any of his future political undertakings — such as running for the California governorship in 1974.

Mrs. Feinstein has not hesitated to oppose union stands — their approval of the U.S. Steel project, for example. But Alioto is guided by his recollection that "the controlling and decisive factor in my election was the support of organized labor."

Alioto moved into the mayoral race only two months before the election, and as a political unknown thought to be right of center. He needed to get his name before the public quickly and dramatically, needed a mass base in the political center and needed campaign funds and a large campaign organization.

This is precisely what Alioto got from the unions. It was their greatest campaign effort in years — greater even than they had waged for former labor leader John F. Shelley, who was retiring as mayor after four years of generally taking union support for granted.

## Unions correct

The unions, eager to have a candidate who also needed their support but had to seek it, sensed correctly that Alioto would be a big winner with their help and that he would acknowledge that help handsomely.

The union attitude was enforced by a belief of labor leaders that their old liberal friend, Supervisor Jack Morrison, could not be saved from defeat by the

third candidate in the race, Harold Dobbs, an old conservative foe.

Most major unions joined in the extraordinary campaign for Alioto. But the greatest effort came from the AFL-CIO's Building and Construction Trades Council and the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

The construction unions raised much of the free-flowing campaign money, and the ILWU directed the efforts which wooed from Morrison the minority people and union members whose votes elected Alioto.

## Most attention

As a result, these union organizations have received the most attention from Alioto, and two of the most influential men in City Hall are Business Manager Joseph Mazzola of the Plumbers Union and William Chester, a black ILWU vice president.

Mazzola, a wealthy real estate investor as well as union official, is valued highly for extreme personal loyalty to Alioto, of the sort that will find him "there at 6 o'clock in the morning if Joe needs someone to drive him someplace." As important, notes a City Hall source, is Mazzola's uncanny ability to "lay his hands on substantial pieces of change" whenever Democratic Party candidates need it.

Chester, a personable and close ally of ILWU President Harry Bridges, and a leader who has made a career of being a symbolic figurehead, is used as Alioto's main link with the minority community.

Also ranking high on City Hall's scale of influence are Bud Johnson and other officers of the Laborers Union, which contributed more than \$5,000 to Alioto's mayoral campaign and brought him minority group support almost as important as that of the ILWU.

Top status is accorded as well to Dave Jenkins, a veteran ILWU official. He generally is credited with starting the bandwagon rolling for Alioto and putting together, with the help of Shelly's staff, the campaign organization that drove it to victory.

Close attention also is paid to leaders of the Labor and Building and Construction Trades Councils, which encompass most AFL-CIO unions, to leaders of such large individual AFL-CIO unions as the Machinists, and to leaders of most Teamster Union locals and councils. (Like the ILWU, the Teamsters Union is outside the AFL-CIO.)

Alioto wastes no affection on officials of the City Employees Union, who opposed his election and who, as leaders of his own "employees," challenge him directly and frequently.

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## Unions and the 1970 election

To measure organized labor's great and growing political influence, you need look no further than this November's election.

The unions' efforts probably were their greatest ever. More than \$3 million in union money went into campaigns, several million voters were registered by volunteer union registrars, and millions of telephone calls and house-to-house visits were made by union volunteers to get voters out on election day.

Most of the effort went into U.S. Senate races, since labor leaders were most seriously concerned that the Democrats might lose control of the Senate, a relatively liberal and so generally pro-labor body.

The Democrats did retain control of both the Senate and the House, of course — including control of those committees which hear legislation of direct interest to labor.

Organized labor obviously had a great deal to do with these and other results, even though the unions were riding political waves generated elsewhere.

It's doubtful, for instance, that labor could have done anything for Jess Unruh in California except perhaps lessen his margin of defeat by Reagan. Voters, including thousands of union members, were not going to vote for Unruh, and that was that.

The union leaders were careful. They endorsed Unruh, and many campaigned for him. But they did so half-heartedly in most cases, and they gave him relatively little union money.

The leaders were guided in part by recollections of just a few years ago, when Unruh was calling labor "politically irrelevant." But they were guided largely by an assumption that Unruh could not win.

This illustrates the nature and extent of labor's political power perhaps better than anything else. Once labor leaders made the decision that Unruh could not win, he was as good as defeated. For, while the lack of all-out labor support could not in itself defeat Unruh, he could not win without it.

And what of labor's role in the case of victorious candidates — U.S. Senator-elect John Tunney of California, for example?

Unions alone were not responsible for Tunney's election, any more than they alone were responsible for Unruh's defeat; voters were moving toward Tunney for a variety of reasons apart from labor's campaign efforts.

But the key factor here is that many voters would not actually have voted for Tunney if union campaigning had not kept them moving in his direction.

No one could know whether these union efforts provide the actual margin of victory for such candidates. But they could, and union and political leaders must keep this in mind at all times.

The success of union-supported candidates in such key races as Tunney's helped organized labor as much politically — if not more — as it helped the Democratic Party.

It was, of course, an effective demonstration of union political muscle, as important in bringing labor new Democratic Party support as was the extraordinary AFL-CIO effort which almost saved Hubert Humphrey from defeat in the 1968 presidential election.

In California, labor's work in helping the Democrats regain control of the State Legislature will give it a legislative voice that it has not had in several years, including a say in next year's reapportionment of California's legislative districts.

Nationally, labor is assured of a continuing great influence in Congress and of having great influence in selecting — and electing — a Democratic presidential nominee in 1972.





# Nobody in San Francisco's City Hall 'can make an important decision without us.'



**John Jeffery**

head of City Employees Union

**Bud Johnson**

head of Laborers Union

*Continued from Page 2*

But the mayor has catered to the union's growing strength by giving city workers what a veteran City Hall observer gauges as "far more consideration than any previous mayor," especially in their drive for genuine union bargaining rights.

Alioto has done enough, at any rate, to convince Secretary John Jeffery of the City Employees Union. He says he would now support the mayor for re-election.

Alioto has won over another prominent election opponent, Painters Union Secretary Morris Evenson, by his insistence that there be no discrimination against minority workers by employers who are awarded city painting contracts.

But the mayor has not convinced President James Ballard of the Teachers Union which, like other relatively weak unions, gets slight attention from Alioto. In the case of the Teachers, it means the mayor has not generally supported efforts to grant collective bargaining rights in the schools.

Some of Alioto's labor supporters have received such favors -- if they can be called that -- as jobs on his staff or elsewhere in city government, most notably with the Redevelopment Agency.

## Status, recognition

But most of the supporters have not gotten much more from City Hall than what one refers to proudly as "status and recognition." That, however, is just what gives them their powerful voice in the major decisions that affect everyone in San Francisco.

For instance: When the Planning Commission voted for the increased building height limit which proponents of the U.S. Steel project said was necessary but which conservationists and others opposed, a construction union man was there to cast a decisive vote -- Hector Reuda of the Elevator Constructors Union, appropriately enough.

And when the Port Commission deliberates on the project and other waterfront developments, Commissioner Bridges is there from the ILWU to take a similar stand.

Bridges' situation -- no different, basically, from that of all the other union representatives on the other city boards and commissions -- well illustrates the mixed role of organized labor in city government.

## For labor

It is certain that Bridges, like the other union men, will uphold basic labor positions; that Bridges would support plans, say, for a waterfront strike, should that come before the commis-

opens less demanding jobs for those who cannot qualify for many of the jobs now available because they lack the experience furnished by the lesser jobs.

## Few questions

It also has been rare for union leaders to question the financial returns promised to business from proposed projects; they merely agree they should be as large as possible to maximize the share granted their members.

Nor have the leaders been much interested in the effects a project might have on the overall development of a city which many union officials and members have left for the suburbs. (More than 40 per cent of San Francisco's workers now live elsewhere.)

They often have been more interested in the effects on their members as taxpayers -- advocating privately-financed development in place of a public project, when that alternative has been available.

Hence, the virtually unqualified labor support for U.S. Steel's waterfront project, despite the many objections raised to it throughout the city.

## No alternatives

Labor leaders might prefer another sort of project, perhaps even one that would provide low-cost housing and guarantee that a substantial number of minority workers and others at least would be trained for the construction and office work involved.

No one in business is proposing such an alternative project, however, and union members need work immediately in this period of very heavy unemployment.

But couldn't labor develop alternate projects of its own that would provide the needed jobs but also broader social benefit? Developers of such projects are at the mercy of bankers and other financiers, but couldn't labor at least provide leadership to foster the development of alternatives by others or force the current developers to alter their plans?

Labor sometimes does show leadership of this sort, but the point is that it does not do it often. In such matters, labor initiates very little. Unions merely react to the doings of others, occasionally forcing them to alter their plans after they have been unveiled but usually playing only the role of important supporter.

"Our job," says an important union official, "is to look at industry as it provides jobs. We don't provide jobs. We just supply the workers and assure their rights."

## Establishmentarians

A critic put it this way: "The unions are an arm of the downtown establishment, playing pretty much of an establishment game. They stand by while business dictates the course of San Francisco and, as long as they get theirs, they don't rock the boat."

It's true enough, anyway, that labor's usually uncritical support for construction projects has greatly eased the efforts of developers to get City Hall to approve their plans without requiring modifications demanded by others in the community.

This potent combination of

labor and business, adds the critic, "has made City Hall an easy victim."

Many construction projects and several key city operations such as the Redevelopment Agency are financed largely through federal grants, however, so labor and business increasingly also must contend with federal agents who are out of their spheres of direct influence.

## Burton Role

The unions still are helped in these dealings by Rep. Phillip Burton -- even though their electoral support for Alioto rather than Morrison was a serious challenge to Burton, who generally controls the Democratic Party organization in San Francisco and who was previously labor's closest political ally.

The split still is wide, however, and the congressman and allies like State Assemblyman Willie Brown regularly engage in intense behind-the-scenes maneuvering with Alioto and his union advisers.

All this may imply that labor and management are together on all issues in City Hall, but they are not by any means.

Union leaders have had very little success, for example, in pressing for broad expansion of manufacturing plants, where union strength lies, in place of the rapid expansion of financial institutions, which are virtually non-union.

## Who argues

Predictably, most of the labor-management arguments that do erupt are not conducted by industrial managers and building contractors, for they are close to labor leaders in their social, economic and political attitudes and standing, must work with strong unions on the job and usually take unions for granted.

The arguments come instead from the financiers, and from merchants and small business-

men who also do not face labor strength. They seem to feel, down deep, that unions still may be rooted out after three decades as facts of life in the city.

The Chamber of Commerce has welcomed labor support for such construction projects as the U.S. Steel development. But the Chamber also regularly challenges union demands on the salaries and benefits of city employees, for instance, and consistently opposes the usually successful efforts of unions and contractors to maintain strict building code regulations requiring use of the most expensive materials.

Labor and business clash most frequently, however, on taxes.

Union organizations generally are willing to support increased taxes for education and other government services and to support bond issues which also are designed to improve these services.

## See-saw fight

But the Chamber usually takes the opposite stand, in a see-saw struggle in which unions sometimes prevail but sometimes are undercut, as in this period of inflation and thus strong general opposition to higher taxes.

Chamber spokesmen, as might be expected, describe organized labor's City Hall influence as inordinate in such matters.

"Alioto is the unions' servant," complains one official. "He doesn't bargain with them; he just gives."

The Chamber representative claims the unions "have pushed city wages far beyond justification" and otherwise made government too costly.

The Chamber is as concerned over the effect of strict building codes on the cost of housing, for the city needs cheaper construction costs to retain the middle-class whites who are moving to the suburbs and to

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## Psss't. Wanna buy a banned newspaper?



By Mick Stevens

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# The California coast -- 900 miles

By Robert Robinson

1970, the year of ecology, is almost over, and nothing substantial has been done to protect California's coast from corporate exploitation.

Now that they have engineered the defeat of legislation to impose controls on coastal development, powerful corporations are stumbling over themselves in their haste to buy up the remaining undeveloped coast and carve it up for second homes and "planned communities" for California's affluent elite.

This is profitable business. According to one study 25 to 40 per cent of the final sales price of second home lots represents clear profit. The initial investment and land improvements account for 35 to 40 per cent of the final price, and sales and promotion account for up to 35 per cent. Lot prices vary considerably, running over \$40,000 per acre for some of the elite developments.

Concern about ecology can be good business for the development companies. To impress prospective buyers and to head off attacks from conservationists, the developers unabashedly boast about their concern for the "environment."

The fancy brochures put out by the developers, with color photographs of beautiful (white) people playing on beautiful beaches, invariably boast of "environmental experts" and ecologists who have been hired as consultants.

But as the Sea Ranch development in Sonoma County

shows, the facts can be different.

Much has been made of Sea Ranch's ecological planning. But in September, 1969, the developers -- Oceanic Properties -- became concerned about tight money and profits and fired five members of the eight-man planning staff at Sea Ranch. Since then, the planning staff has been increased, but not to its former size.

## No park

Even before, in January, 1968, Sonoma County agreed to allow Sea Ranch to close 14 miles of coastline to the public, in exchange for providing 100 acres for a park at the mouth of the Gualala River. The park still has not materialized, however, since the County has no money to develop it.

With Sea Ranch lots averaging \$10,000 apiece, that's 14 miles of coast that most of us won't get to enjoy, except through a car window. The most frequent customers at Sea Ranch are physicians, followed by engineers, business executives, architects and university professors.

Sea Ranch makes no bones about having private streets and security guards patrolling them. And the promoters of Sea Ranch are not alone in their appeal to the elitism, fears and insecurities of customers. Cascade Ranch and the Westinghouse project in San Mateo County, and Pajaro Dunes, in Santa Cruz County, all will have private

roads, locked gates and security guards.

Some of the developers don't even bother to hire ecologists and invest in planning. Shelter Cove, developed by a man with a previous conviction for land fraud, included lots on 60-foot fills carved out of a mountainside, in an area where the report of the state Department of Real Estate warned of an earthquake hazard. Half the lots at Shelter Cove lack septic tanks.

And some who do hire the experts use them for much more than planning. In the words of the feasibility study for Marre Ranch, "the public relations campaign should be based upon, and take full advantage of, the overall concept of the project. For instance, participation by world-renowned architects, designers and social and biological scientists would permit entree into publications and interest segments of the population difficult to reach through advertising alone."

## The experts

Among the experts from the University of California who have been hired by the development corporations are two ecologists in the School of Forestry and Conservation. One, plant ecologist and physiologist E.C. Stone, is consulting for the Russian Harbor Corporation on the vegetation problems at Jenner. The other, Dr. Paul Zinke, a soils expert, has consulted for both Sea Ranch and Boise Cascade (at Incline Village).

Dr. Joseph Johnson, in UC's Civil Engineering Department,

## Big corporations are carving up the coast for the second homes and "planned communities" of California's affluent elite.

was hired by Northern California Aggregates.

By hiring these experts, the corporations also are able to silence and co-opt a potential source of independent criticism. It is hardly a coincidence that the faculty of the School of Forestry and Conservation has been silent on the social and ecological costs of coastal development, whereas zoology professors, who are not so involved in consulting work, have been outspoken and critical.

The developers also can count on many local businessmen, realtors and promoters to work for them. For instance:

Members of the Half Moon Bay Chamber of Commerce traveled to Sacramento last Spring with the Dean Brothers to see the State Highway Commission about getting a freeway built from San Mateo over to the coast. And Cecil J. Marmon, a Half Moon Bay city councilman works as Dean & Dean's Director of Engineering and Planning. Because of this possible conflict of interest he has submitted his resignation as councilman, but it has not been accepted yet.

Nowhere, however, is the overwhelming power of a large corporation in a small town

more naked than in Ft. Bragg, where Boise Cascade Corporation is dominant. The corporation, one of the most powerful development firms on the coast, owns eight miles of sand dune beach frontage north of Ft. Bragg and vast tracts of timber land inland from the coast.

## Southern style

When Boise Cascade bought the Union Lumber Co. at Ft. Bragg two years ago, it also bought a southern-style mill town. The mayor of Ft. Bragg, Vern Vaughn, is the public relations man for the company. Traditionally, about half of the city councilmen work for the company. The mill, which is the main source of employment in the town, has always been non-union; the company broke a bitter strike in 1946 by importing scabs from the South and Midwest.

The insanity of the second home industry is nowhere clearer than at Ft. Bragg. Like the rest of the country, Ft. Bragg has a critical housing shortage; it is next to impossible for the workers there to find decent rental housing.

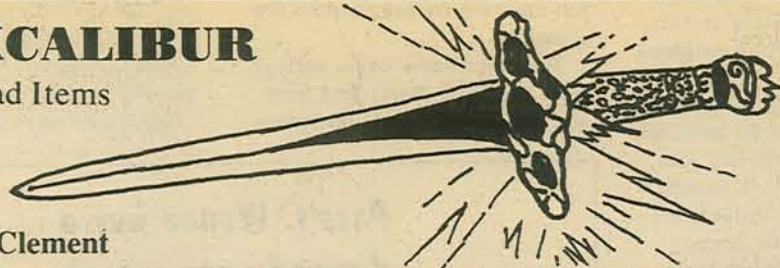
And before long, the workers will watch as Boise Cascade subdivides its beach frontage for second homes of wealthy families from the Bay Area. A final irony is that the workers at the corporation's Ft. Bragg plant manufacture prefabric-

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## EXCALIBUR

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# of 'Tahoe-by-the-Sea'

Continued from Page 4

ated housing units which are shipped out to other areas.

For many of the corporations involved in coastal development schemes, the coast of California is only one shore of a developing Pacific Basin empire. The wealth of Indonesia's forests, and profits from the Vietnam war are being reinvested in developing California's coast.

Castle & Cooke, developers of Sea Ranch, also own Dole Co., Standard Fruit and Steamship Co., Castle & Cooke East Asia Ltd., Republic Glass and Thai-American Steel.

## In Pacific

Boise Cascade and Georgia-Pacific, another coast developer, have recently moved into Indonesia, since the take-over by the pro-U.S. government. Georgia-Pacific also has cutting rights on 232,000 acres of timber land in the Philippines.

Two other developers, Westinghouse and American Standard, are heavily involved in aerospace and defense work here and abroad.

The power of the development corporations is staggering, but in some instances conservationists have been able to mount successful holding actions against them.

The most successful recent fight was against dredging at Jenner, in Sonoma County. There, American Leisure Lands wanted to dredge 250 million tons of gravel from the mouth of the Russian River for a development despite the great harm it would do to marine life and esthetics.

They key factor in the fight was the national attention that was focused on the issue. County supervisors were non-plussed

when the dredging foes pointed out that the dredging plan violated the Supervisors' own County Master Plan. They were horrified, however, when they discovered that Nader's Raiders were looking into the case.

Although county supervisors generally are sympathetic to developers, they are beginning to stiffen under constant scrutiny by conservationists. Santa Cruz County recently passed an interim zoning ordinance setting a minimum 10-acre lot size for some of the land north of the City of Santa Cruz, for instance. This may be only temporary, but it has stalled American Standard's proposed development of De La Cruz Ranches, and the plans of Sussman Development, Ltd., which owns 2200 acres north of town.

## Agencies stacked

Although several public agencies are involved in planning for coastal controls, the agencies are stacked and controlled so that the large developers will not be threatened.

The most important was set up in 1967 when the State Legislature passed the Marine Resources Conservation and Development Act. The act provided for creation of the "California Ocean Area Plan" and the California Advisory Committee on Marine and Coastal Resources.

Governor Reagan appointed 35 men to this advisory committee and created the Interagency Council on Ocean Resources, which he charged with preparing the Ocean Area Plan. But last July, after three years of relative independence, the Council was put under the jurisdiction of the Department of Navigation and Ocean Development, headed by John S.

Habel, a former Reagan campaign manager.

Habel is now responsible for approving the plan before it is sent to the Advisory Committee. And since he took charge, some staff members have felt frustrated by bureaucratic restrictions he has imposed.

Further, the advisory committee, which must approve any plan, is controlled by big business. Included on the 35-man Commission are representatives of Chevron Oil, Lockheed Aircraft, Ralston Purina, P.G. & E., the Dillingham Corp., Kaiser Refractories, General Motors, North American Rockwell, Todd Shipyards Corp. and Bechtel Corp. Also included are five legislators, four engineering professors, four oceanographers, assorted lawyers and private consultants and only one ecologist.

## No opposition

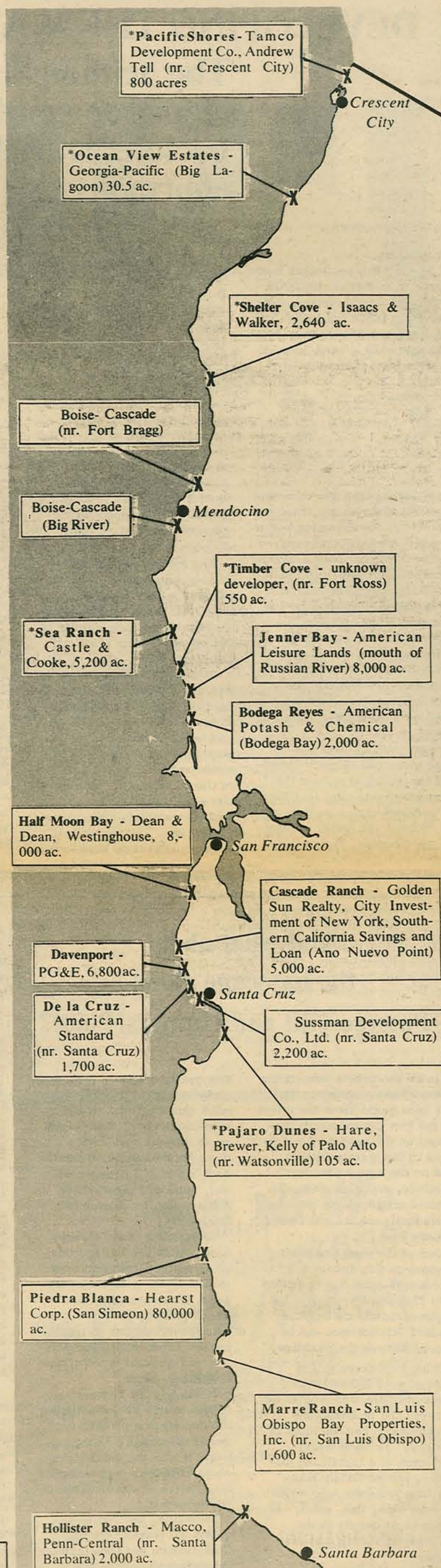
The conservation groups who oppose the development schemes are small, isolated and fragmented; the forces they face form an integrated, coordinated "Construction-development complex."

It is no accident that several of the development companies (Westinghouse, American Standard, Boise Cascade and Georgia Pacific) also manufacture building materials, pre-fab construction units and environmental control systems. One division of the corporation is thus able to feed the fires of another.

The development of a given stretch of coast does not proceed by a series of isolated events. Dams, nuclear power plants, desalinization plants, housing developments, freeways, industry: all are inter-related. The men developing the coast know this, and they know how to organize and promote these developments to maximize their profits and power.

Allied with the corporations are public agencies such as the Army Corps of Engineers and the State Highway Commission with vested interests in development. Behind this axis stands an array of consultants, contractors, law firms, realtors and chamber of commerce types who serve to coordinate and expedite matters with local public agencies.

Conservationists have been fighting a rear-guard action against overwhelming odds, trying to save this or that marsh or mountain. But they have not found a way to go on the offensive. They have not gotten a strong coastal zoning bill from the Legislature and, most important, they have not formulated a program of land reform. This is essential to prevent the development corporations from appropriating our coastline for the benefit of a wealthy minority.



More than half of the 567 miles of California coastline declared as "suitable for recreation" by the California Advisory Commission on Marine and Coastal Resources is in private hands — and they are developing it at a rapid pace, as this map shows. And this tells only part of the story; for much of the land which is in public ownership is at military reservations such as Ft. Ord.

\*Projects beyond the planning stage, where construction or sale of lots is in progress.

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# DEVELOPING THE WATERFRONT

## The arithmetic is murky, the zoning is ripped to smithereens, the piggy backing is tricky, the public subsidies are enormous

Continued from Page 1

community.

In part, this separatism is the result of an historic tradition. For more than a century, from the early 1860's until 1969, the harbor of San Francisco was administered by a quasi-independent agency of the state government, the San Francisco Port Authority.

State operation probably would have continued to work to everyone's satisfaction had it not been for the changeful and competitive nature of the

shipping business. For numerous and complex reasons, however, the Port of San Francisco began to lose ground to rival ports.

The old finger piers along the Embarcadero, which had been in use for 35, 55 or even 75 years, seemed to be going out of style. They could not be used by the sort of ships that take on and put off cargo in large containers, nor by the immense new LASH (Lighter Aboard Ship) carriers that swallow and disgorge loaded barges.

State management was blamed on Montgomery Streeters for failing to provide the Port with up-to-date facilities. A political campaign built up to "return" the harbor to municipal operation. Presumably, significant economic benefits would accrue to the city from

a more aggressive, locally directed management.

In 1968 the Legislature passed a bill by Assemblyman John Burton of San Francisco authorizing the transfer of the harbor from state to city control. The voters of the city approved the deal that November.

At the same election the city agreed to assume liability for the debts of the Port (currently some \$53 million), which hopefully would be paid from revenues and not local property taxes. The transfer act also obligated the city to issue at least \$100 million in bonds for harbor improvements during the next twenty-five years, up to 1994.

The Port was guaranteed a certain autonomy that is not granted to ordinary city departments: its properties, its revenues, its bond funds, were to be held separate from other city functions.

At the heart of the Burton Act was a clause that empowered the Port Commission to lease harbor properties for periods up to 66 years for any purpose that would yield a maximum profit, if, in the opinion of the commission, the properties were not longer needed for harbor, transportation or recreational use. The proceeds of such non-maritime leases were to be used "in furtherance of commerce and navigation."

This clause was an invitation -- or, perhaps, a mandate -- for the city to rebuild its harbor out of non-maritime revenues.

### Rough plans

Armed with a series of studies by Arthur D. Little, Inc., the Port Commission made rough plans to spend \$160 million in the next six years.

They decided to go it alone -- that is, to finance the "great modernization program by milking maximum commercial revenues out of "their own property" (meaning, the public's property) around the Ferry Building.

There never was any question that this public property along the northern waterfront would find a ready market. There were acres and acres of shoreline, right at the fringe of the financial district, adjoining the Golden Gateway, North Beach and Fisherman's Wharf. There were dazzling, uninterrupted vistas across the lovely harbor, with freeways and rapid transit lines to the door, and brand new city parks unrolling westward toward the bristling downtown skyline.

Developers had been slaving over considerably less attractive San Francisco properties for years.

Since most of the older piers were located in this section

and most of the new container ship facilities would be several miles south, what could seem more logical than to auction off the old to pay for the new?

In a situation like this, there was an obvious threat of over-enthusiastic real estate development. The land was flat, the acreage was large, the location was super prime.

It was precisely the type of property that developers seek out for those grandiose, multi-purpose urban projects currently favored by corporate investors -- towering, joyless micropolises, complete with parking garages, retail shops, offices, living quarters and "amenities," all bound together by the strong financial strings of some vast underwriting syndicate.

Except in areas of urban renewal, such parcels are rare, indeed. This is essentially what Alioto meant some months ago when he called the Embarcadero "one of the hottest pieces of real estate that anyone could get."

### Master plan

To calm the natural apprehensions of many intuitive and far-sighted citizens, the city government ordered its planning department to prepare a master plan for the entire northern waterfront, from Fort Mason to the Channel Street ship canal.

This sudden enthusiasm for planning was occasioned, in part, by controversy over proposed buildings at the base of Telegraph Hill, but in larger part by the realization in City Hall that the port administration lacked the staff, the experience and the breadth of outlook to properly develop so valuable a resource as the northern waterfront.

Basic work on the plan was done by the architectural firm of John S. Bolles Associates, with Arthur D. Little on the scene again as economic advisors.

As plans go, it was practical rather than wishful. But it did call for improvements in the parking and traffic flow on the Embarcadero, for height limits to preserve views and for major areas of public access to the bay.

### Useless advice

Most of this professional advice was rendered quite useless, however, by the exuberant desire of the Port Commission, the Mayor and other "progressive" elements of San Francisco's business, labor and political establishment to peddle waterfront property and get on with new harbor projects.

Within a few months after the Planning Commission had adopted a watered-down version of the Bolles Plan, the Port Commission suggested junking the building height limit, at least for the area between the Ferry Building and the Bay Bridge.

It seemed that the Port officials had been propositioned and were dying to roll over. (A high official in the city government muttered in disgust:

"San Francisco always has been an easy lay for anybody with money in his hand.")

In brief, the Port was entertaining a project that would be in flagrant violation of the Planning Code -- so the Planning Code would just have to yield. The justification for this accommodation was "economic."

The U.S. Steel company, in return for the privilege of ripping the zoning restrictions to smithereens, would underwrite the construction of a new passenger ship terminal, an enterprise that port administrators have regarded for years as a grossly unprofitable dream.

### Tower rental

Moreover, the site rental on the steel tower would help pay for those wonderful new cargo handling facilities south of the Bay Bridge. The public interest in waterfront access and proper land use would be sacrificed to raise a subsidy to the maritime industry.

It's not called a subsidy, however. That would bring trouble from the Federal Maritime Commission. For the Commission, in order to minimize cut-throat competition among ports, insists that maritime leases be sufficiently compensatory to the port.

The Port of San Francisco is able to balance its books so as to make it appear to be running at a slight profit. This means it does not receive a direct subsidy out of taxes as does, for example, the Municipal Railway.

But, in totting up its "revenues" (something over \$12 million in 1970), the Port is allowed to take in some hidden subsidies. For one thing, the Port is permitted to retain some \$100,000 a year in funds collected from parking meters on "port property" and call them operating revenue.

It also retains the bank interest on its accumulated surpluses and, unlike other city departments, bills its tenants for services and credits these payments to the revenue side of its ledger.

Most important, the Port makes no distinction in its annual reports between maritime and non-maritime rental income. One cannot tell whether non-maritime functions, such as the restaurants at Fisherman's Wharf, actually contribute more or less than their just share of the cost of running the Port. (Non-maritime rentals make up about 50 per cent of the total, and this proportion is expected to rise.)

On the basis of the available figures, it is impossible to determine whether the Port makes or loses money on its services to the maritime industry. It probably would be a safe bet, however, that expensive new cargo handling facilities would not show any margin of profit for many years.

If the new LASH terminal now under construction at India Basin is a fair example, modernized cargo facilities will barely break even. The LASH terminal is costing more than \$21 million to build and

Continued on Page 11

## And what about the bayscape along Potrero Hill and Hunters Point?

In all the debate surrounding the northern waterfront, little has been heard about the effect of the Port Commission's programs on the neglected waterfront of the Potrero District and on the area called South Bayshore, a troublesome, disfigured neighborhood between India Basin and the San Mateo County line.

One of the most persistent shadows on this district is a problem that the San Francisco City Planning Department has euphemistically called "the gradual deterioration and inaccessibility of the shoreline."

What this means is that piles of sand and rubble and acres of smoldering rubbish lie between the people of the neighborhood and the shore of the bay. The blue water shimmers at a tantalizing distance, almost totally inaccessible to anyone who might wish to walk, fish, swim, bicycle or sit quietly in the presence of salt air and sunshine.

The people of San Francisco would be immensely enriched if the South Bayshore could lay claim to its shore. The City Planning Department, in consultation with representatives from the district, has drawn up a plan of reconstruction that is balanced, humane, and sensitive.

Critical to the success of the plan is a system of water-

side parks, marinas, paths and parkways. Just east of Candlestick Park stadium, around a man-made cove, there would be an 88-acre park with a commercial marina, a small boat harbor and restaurants; and, north of Hunters Point, a second, smaller marina on India Basin.

Although the City Planning Commission has adopted this plan and the Supervisors have authorized the planners to seek funds of the necessary public improvements, the Port Commission evidently has no special interest in promoting the physical and spiritual rejuvenation of South Bayshore.

Instead, in its eager commitment to new cargo facilities, the commission plans to fill nearly all of India Basin, surround it with the usual high, chain-link fence and seal off a long stretch of shoreline to public access.

In granting the Port its required fill permit, the Bay Conservation and Development Commission required that a 50-foot wide strip of "park" be left on the inboard side of the fill, toward the old shoreline and facing on the narrow inlet that will remain. But it is not apparent where the Port will find the money or inspiration to landscape this property.

Instead of taking the lead in developing the potential human uses of the waterfront, the

Port Commission regards public access as a nuisance. It is considered a temporary privilege to be granted where, and so long as, it does not interfere with commerce.

Along the Potrero shoreline, immediately north of India Basin, not even the Planning Department has produced any guidelines for public access of recreational development.

A group of residents on Potrero Hill, after three years of deliberation, proposed a modest plan for half a dozen small parks, view-points and peep-holes in the almost solid wall of fenced industrial yards fronting the bay. But this proposal, which might better be called a plea, lacks official sanction. And the Port Commission, merrily piggy-backing on its proposed northern waterfront leases, has designs on acres of filled tidelands that would close off every spot now sought by the Potrero Hill group.

It is not that the Port Commission is hostile to public recreation. It just doesn't see much profit in it. The Chief Engineer and his staff have been working on a little plan for a few access spots in the solid wall of cargo terminals that are planned between the ship canal and India Basin.

But providing open space is not a compelling interest of the Port. Most of the energies of the staff are absorbed in the great inter-city struggle to attract maritime business. Such problems as environmental quality and the improvement of urban life take a remote second place in the exciting business of large-scale real estate promotions.

By Richard Reinhardt





To South Bayshore residents, the bayshore is often only a tantalizing gleam of water in the distance, as here beyond the fences of the Naval Shipyard at Hunters Point.

## MICHAEL BRY

A portfolio of photographs  
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on the waterfront  
and on San Francisco

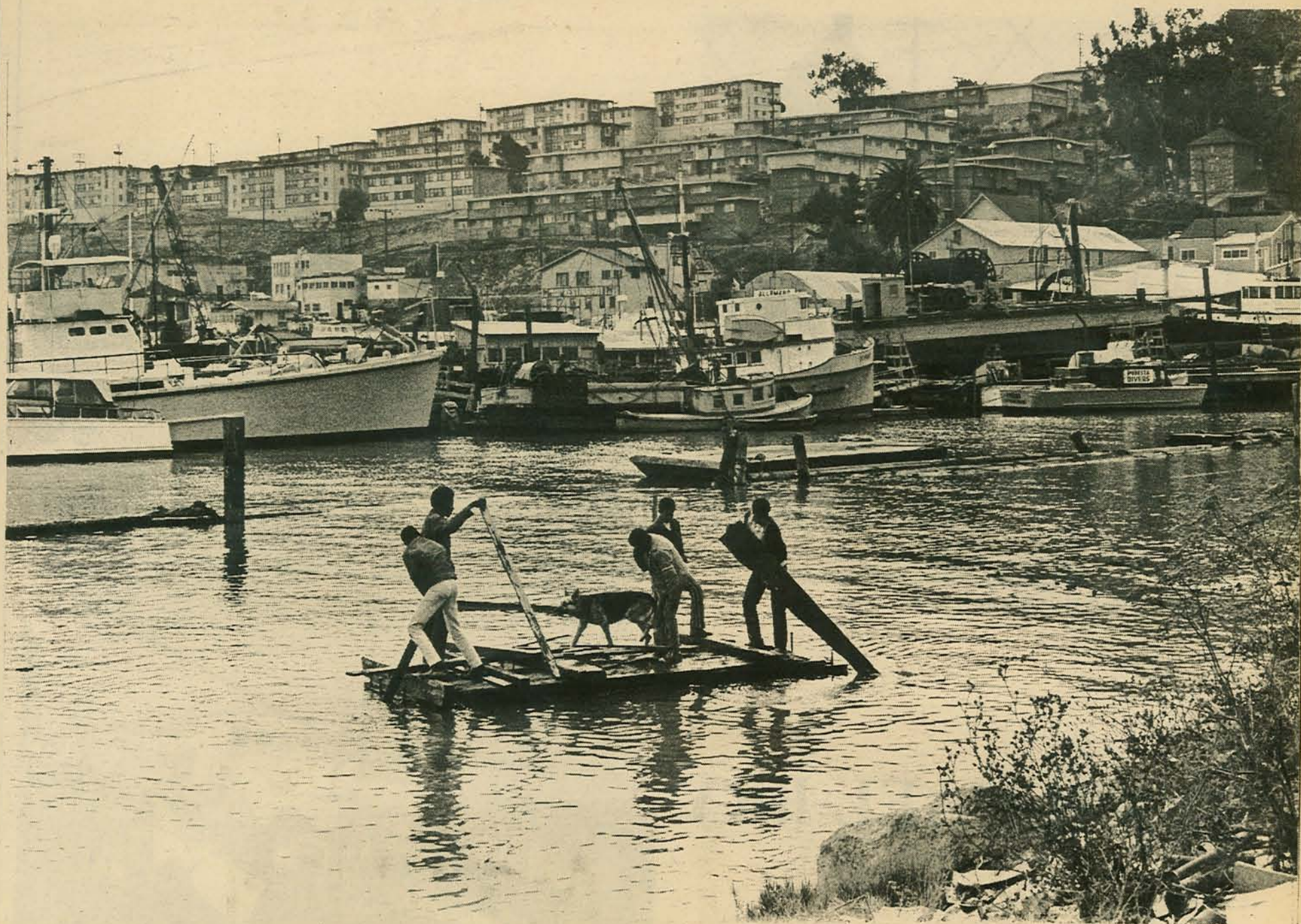


This old dray boat, once used to carry grain across the Bay, is now used as a houseboat in China Basin.

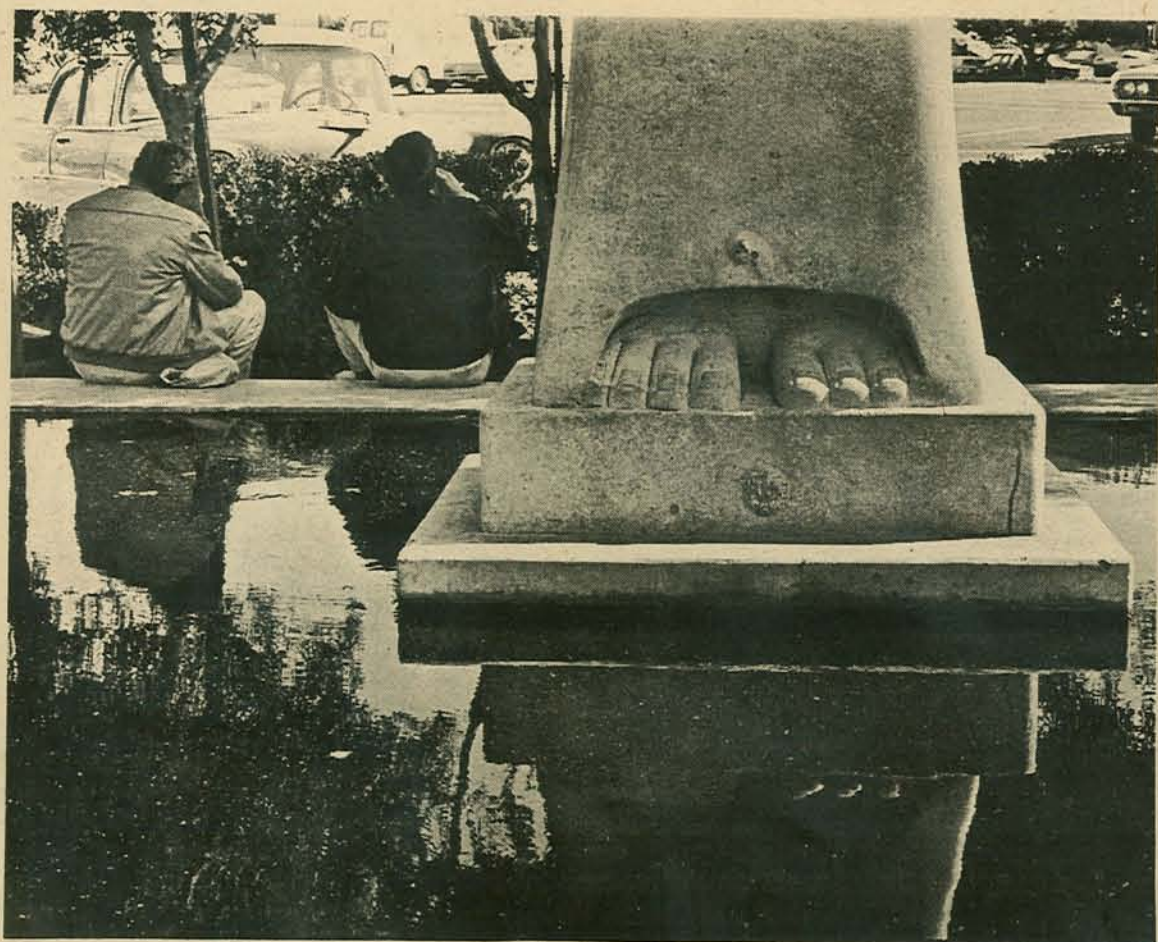


Looking bayward, a vista of wrecked cars from Hunters Point-Bayview.





A fall afternoon in India Basin under the shoulder of Hunters Point.



Lunch at the feet of Benny Bufano's St. Francis at the Longshoremen's Hall.



Preparing crab traps aboard one of the city's many fishing boats.

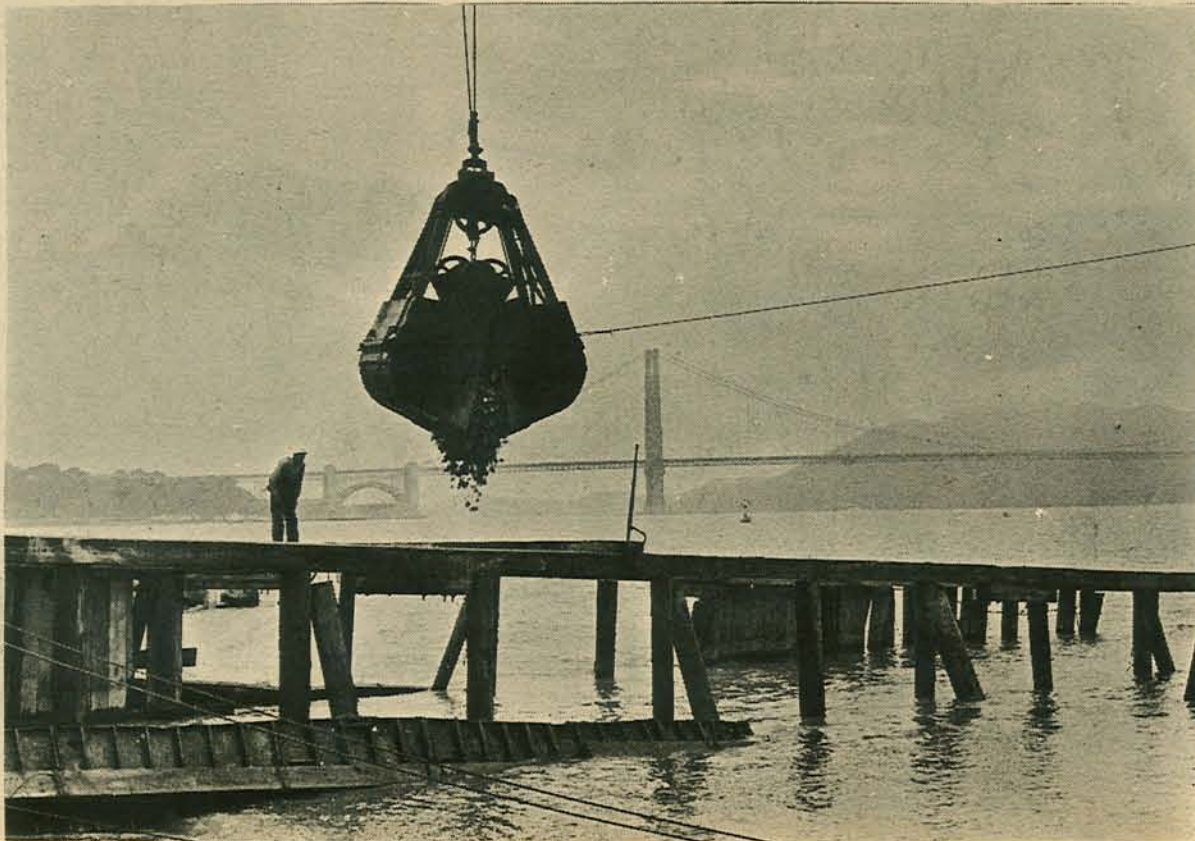




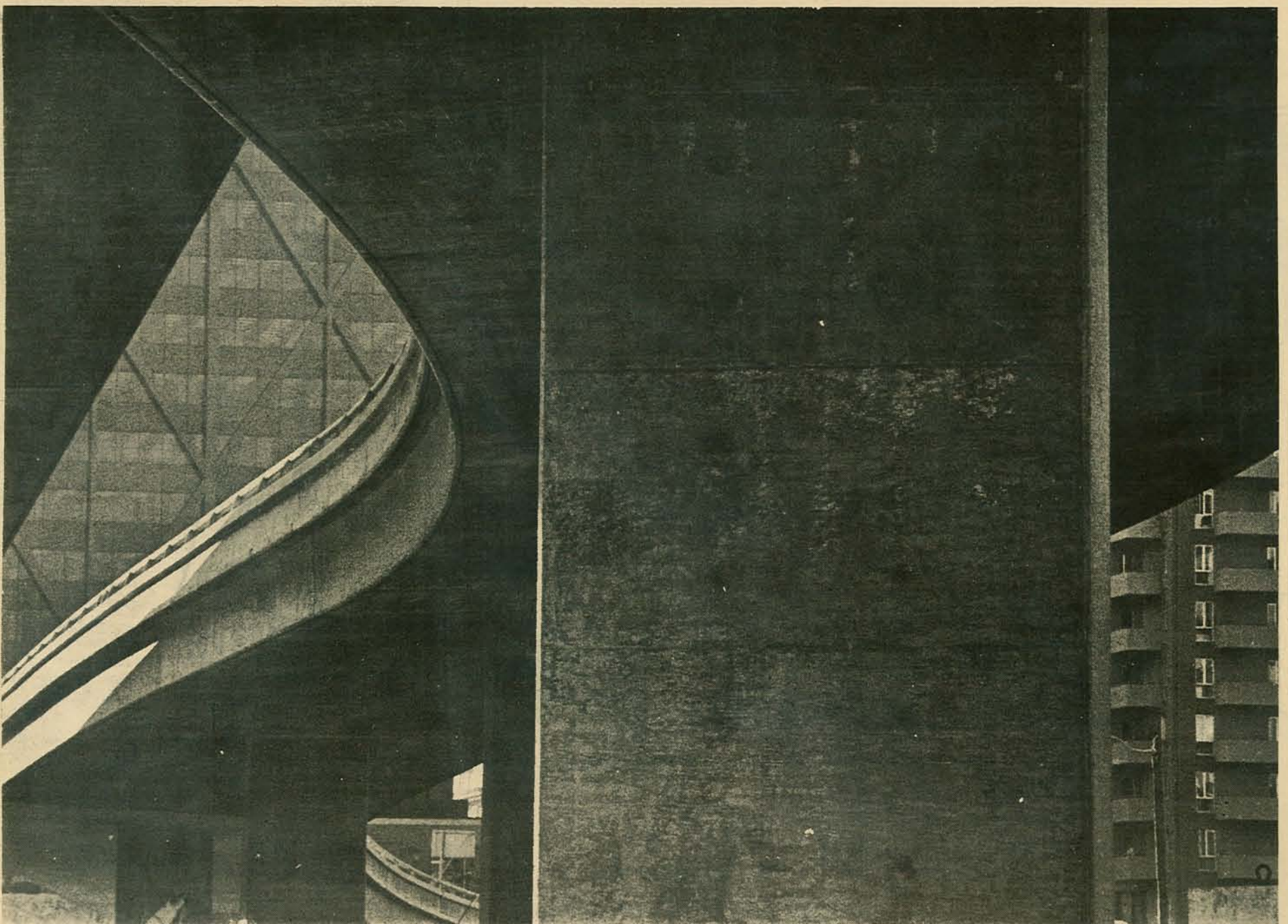
The wharf as a playground — next to a ship in the Islais Channel near Army St., for instance.



An abandoned brewery near a long dried-up spring in Hunters Point.



Engineers fill in a part of the bay near some beautiful beach areas to expand Crissy Field, the Army airport in the Presidio.

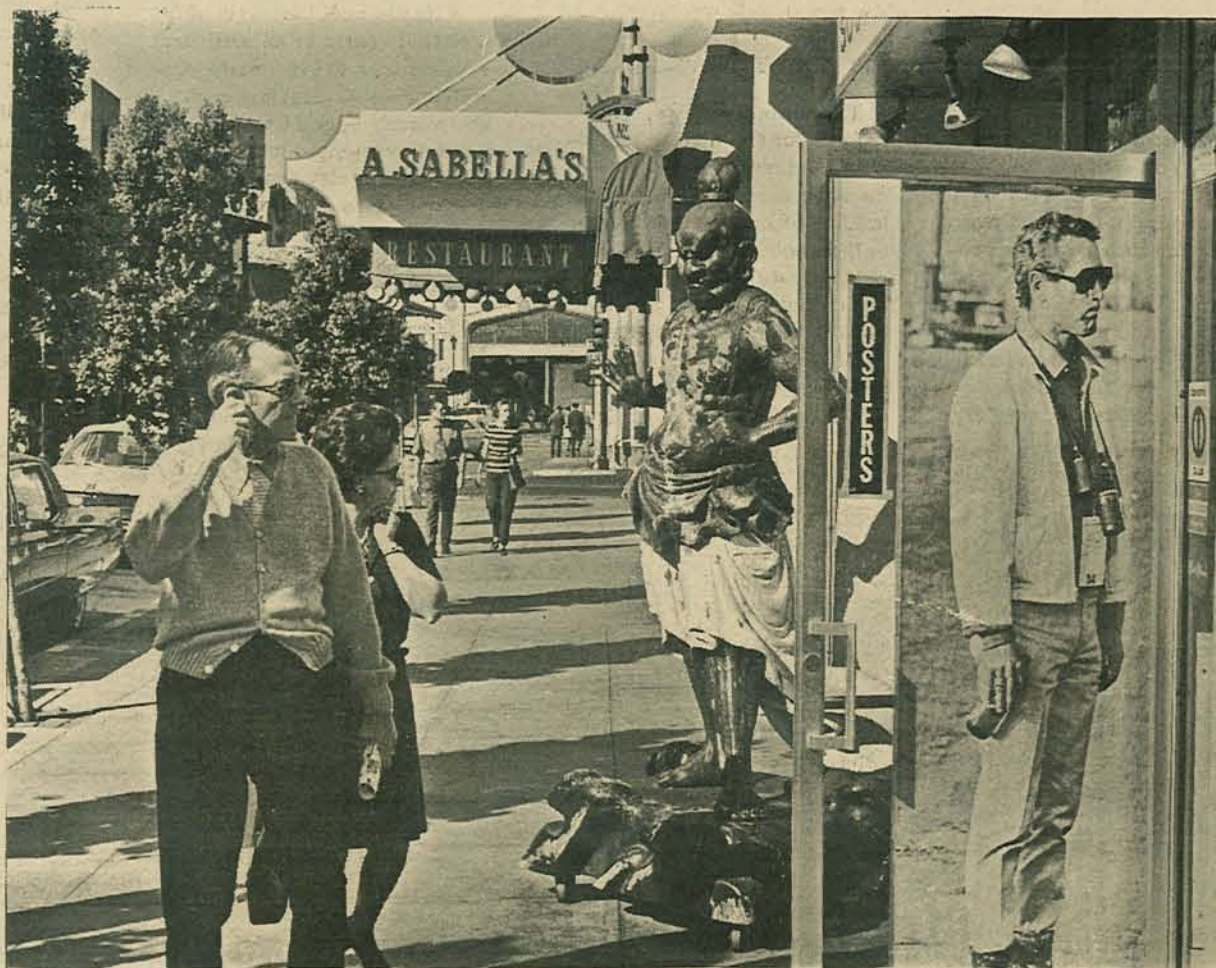


The vista at the Washington St. off-ramp of the Embarcadero Freeway.





They are, so the fishermen say, the best fishing holes on the Embarcadero.



Fishermen's Wharf



# 'Don't just condemn U.S. Steel, go after the roots of overdevelopment'

The Guardian asked Richard Reinhardt, the noted free-lance writer and former Chronicle City Hall reporter who did the preceding report on waterfront development, to file another report on what he feels must be done to save the waterfront. Here is Reinhardt's report.

• • •

In its plan to over-exploit the northern waterfront, the San Francisco Port Commission has shown poor judgment, insensitivity and inability to handle the redevelopment of a unique public resource.

To protect the waterfront from such assaults, it is essential to insulate the Commission and the properties under its jurisdiction from development pressures.

The Port must be brought under closer fiscal and managerial supervision, preferably by a metropolitan, regional government that also would control the land use and economic planning policies of other harbors and public utilities.

As a beginning, the city should take its Port Commission out of the land development business by making the entire territory of port jurisdiction an urban renewal area, as has been suggested by Redevelopment Director Justin Herman and Supervisor Ronald Pelosi.

## Assurances

By putting the Port properties under urban renewal, the city would be assured that:

1. Surplus maritime properties would be redeveloped in relation to -- not in competition with -- such renewal projects as Yerba Buena Center.

2. Proper facilities for parking, recreation, promenades, marinas, housing and the like would be developed, possibly including such things as the system of small parks and access points requested by a resident's committee in the Potrero District.

3. The city would be eligible for maximum Federal support to meet the cost of open space.

The Burton Act, which transferred the Port to city operation, should be amended to release the city from the obligation to invest \$100 million in new maritime facilities by 1994. Assemblyman Burton has suggested the change, and it probably would be welcomed by the Port Commission.

## Port enslaved

Obviously, this arbitrary requirement enslaves the Port administration to the principle of technological growth at peril to environmental quality, and subjects it to development pressure with no assurance that there will be special benefits to the maritime industry.

To guarantee that the Port's new developments on the southern waterfront do not have unfavorable effects on the surrounding neighborhoods, the City Planning Department should be granted funds to continue its waterfront master plan

to take in the east slope of the Potrero District.

This study should emphasize the recreational potential of this industrial shoreline, and should include the development of biking and hiking paths to link the public areas along the Embarcadero to the proposed marinas at India Basin and Candlestick Point.

The city also should commit itself to a public policy regarding the proper use and development of all its waterfront, ocean as well as bay, private property as well as public. Such a policy would be a pledge of the local government to protect the public interest in visual and physical access to the shoreline.

## Clear requirement

As a matter of principle, the protection of shoreline rights has not been regarded as a traditional function of local government. Yet it seems clear that public health, as well as esthetics, require local governments to:

Limit the height and bulk of buildings situated within a fixed distance of the waterfront.

Bar vehicular trafficways that interrupt public access to the water.

Prevent filling except for limited maritime purposes.

Guarantee permanent public access and assure that public recreation will take priority over all other uses not directly dependent upon water.

A declaration of policy of this sort would serve as a touch-

stone with which to evaluate such projects as the Port Commission has lured to the Embarcadero. A 50-story skyscraper clearly would be unacceptable; a hotel would be questionable; even a marine terminal would be subject to standards of design.

In the meantime, the city should urge the Federal Government also to adopt new policies and programs.

What's needed is a national port policy to minimize the present frantic competition among ports, which is foolish, wasteful and inevitably contributes to overdevelopment, destruction of the natural environment and impairment of urban quality.

The lack of such a policy is a classic example of the way in which federal inaction can undermine local efforts to protect environmental quality.

## Federal aid

The Government also should develop a program of giving grants-in-aid or matching funds to municipal harbors that put surplus maritime properties into recreational use. Such subsidies might now be possible under the federal program for open space, or as a function of urban renewal, but it would be desirable to have special inducements for waterfront recreational development.

Guarantee permanent public access and assure that public recreation will take priority over

all other uses not directly dependent upon water.

The problem cannot be solved by condemning individual projects, by mounting legal and political counter-attacks or by debating architectural esthetics. It must be met by eradicating the roots of overdevelopment.

This is what every California city will have to do very quickly in order to protect its urban waterfront.

It is what San Francisco will have to do very quickly in order to protect Fort Mason, the Presidio, Seacliff and the Ocean Beach from the onslaughts of misguided developers who now pound at the piers of the Embarcadero.



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## 'Leaving it to the BCDC' isn't policy enough to save the waterfront

Continued from Page 6

will be paid for by 30-year revenue bonds at 7 1/4 per cent. Since the terminal will return about \$2 million a year in rent, it will barely pay off the principal and interest.

The LASH terminal and other developments like it must be, in effect, supported by other activities of the Port -- carried piggy-back by more profitable ventures.

Piggy-backing of this sort is a well-known administrative gambit. Examples of it abound in every sort of business. Profitable bars carry unprofitable restaurants. Profitable terminals carry unprofitable airfields. Profitable cookbooks carry unprofitable first novels.

## SHEER DISASTER

In business, piggy-backing may or may not be clever practice, but in government agencies it is sheer disaster. It not only obscures the real cost and benefits of public enterprises but also gives false economic justification to many misbegotten projects.

The Port Commission's development plans depend on piggy-backing on a Brobdingnagian scale, and, however murky the arithmetic may be, this clearly constitutes a public subsidy to the maritime industry. A subsidy is a subsidy, whether it takes the form of cash, services, tax relief, low rent or the robbing of Peter to pay Paul.

In this case, the subsidy con-

sists in providing a public utility service (the harbor) to its commercial users (the shippers) at less than true value. The economic loss will not be covered, as it is with the Muni, out of taxes. It will be paid for, instead, by the gross over-exploitation of a precious public resource, the northern waterfront.

Let this be understood: To misuse the northern waterfront is precisely the same as if the city were to lease out part of

the land in Golden Gate Park for the construction of high-rise apartment houses and to use the revenues to build a cargo terminal which would then be rented to private users for less than it was worth.

## RIGHT TO KNOW

There are, perhaps, valid reasons for the city to subsidize the maritime trade, as it does the parking industry, the holders of baseball and football franchises and other profitable private enterprises that are thought to be of general benefit to the community.

But the public has a right to know what is being done and to understand what is being given

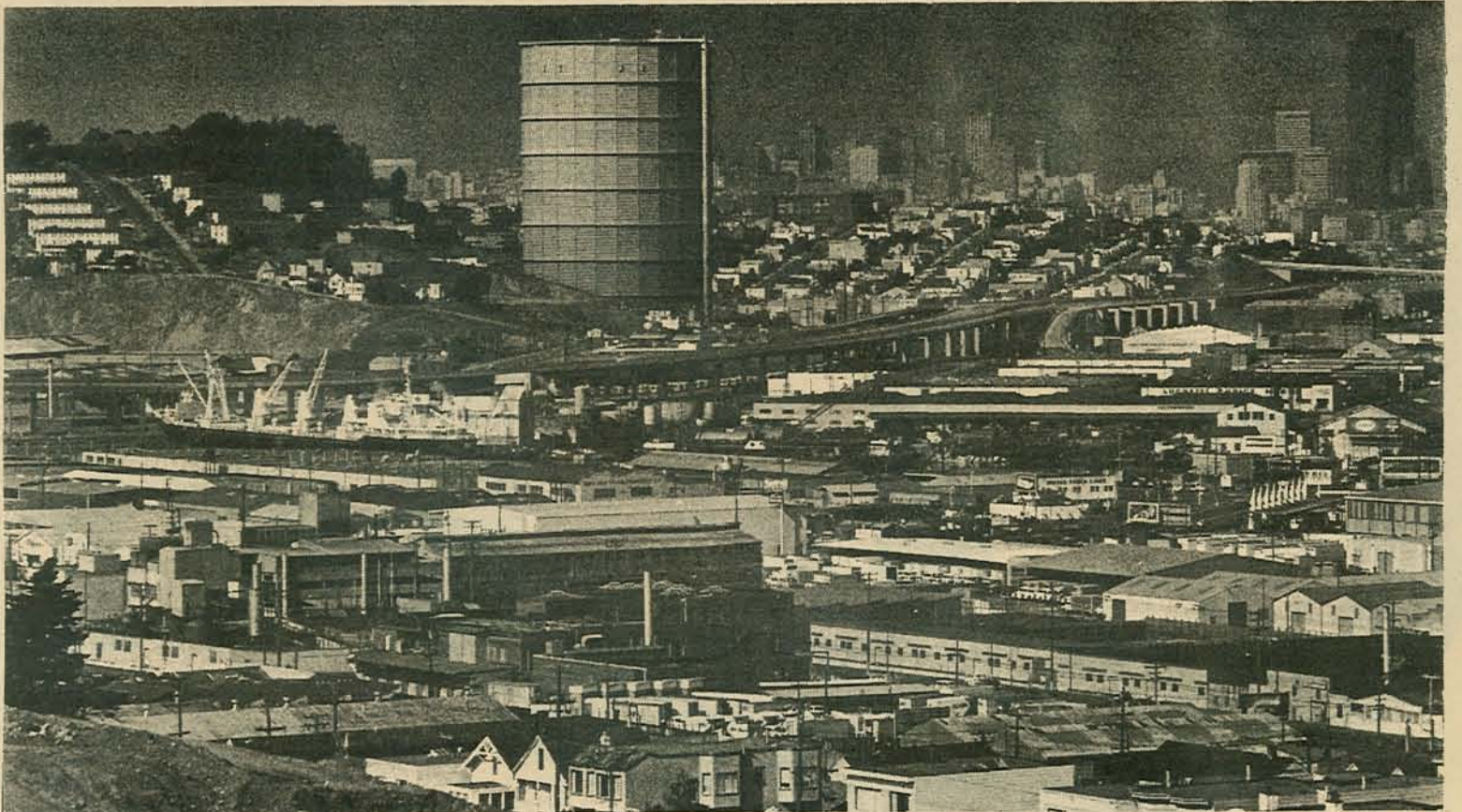
away. Only when the true relationship between the Port's cost and its revenues is known can the city make a sensible judgment on the various development proposals.

Will the new passenger ship terminal really be of sufficient economic value to justify permitting a 550-foot tower at the water's edge? Or will it be a relatively unproductive ornament to a city that whines and whimpers about the need of a new commerce? On the basis of what the Port Commission has revealed about the project, no one can say for sure.

There is a similar disturbing vagueness about the value of

other facilities in the Port's so-called "master plan." Officials of the Port admit that certain of the proposed cargo handling facilities may never be built. It is necessary to wait and see how much container cargo and LASH business actually develops -- and whether these techniques are really the last word in maritime transport or merely temporary innovations.

Yet, this vague, open-ended program of capital improvements is offered as the economic justification for oversized, inappropriate, illegal commercial developments on the northern waterfront.



By Michael Bry



# We will pay high BART fares and high utility rates throughout Northern California because of The great 1965 James K. Carr public power disaster

By Peter L. Petrakis

San Francisco's Public Utilities Commission has authorized another study of the feasibility of acquiring PG&E's electric distribution system in the city. But don't be fooled. The commissioners don't appear to mean it any more now than they did last time, in 1965.

This "buy out PG&E" ploy has not been reported fully until now. But if the PUC had meant it in 1965, a regional public power system could have been set up to compete with the PG&E system, which in San Francisco continues to bilk the people of \$30 million each year in private power profits.

Then as now, the commission appeared to be concerned merely with the threat to take over PG&E's San Francisco distribution system. It sees such threats mainly as bargaining tools in negotiations with PG&E on the contracts that set the fees it pays to PG&E for delivering the

city's Hetch Hetchy power to San Francisco's municipal services and several out of town industrial users. (These users were "assigned" to the city by PG&E to keep San Francisco from selling its own cheap public power to its own residents and businesses.)

San Francisco's power comes from its hydroelectric system that was built, as the result of an unprecedented act of Congress in 1913, by flooding Hetch Hetchy Valley in Yosemite National Park.

But as the Sacramento Bee puts it, "not one watt of it ever powers so much as a night light or broils a hamburger for the San Francisco resident for whom the system was built." Instead, San Francisco residents and businesses have been forced for the past 50 years to buy PG&E's expensive private power—in disregard of the city charter and in violation of the Raker Act.

City Utilities Manager James K. Carr, who has set out this year to negotiate "long term

extension" of the PG&E contracts, used the "buy out" threat five years ago to get PG&E to lower its delivery fees for city power from an outrageous \$2.6 million a year to a merely exorbitant \$2 million. After that, the threat of acquisition was quietly laid aside until 1970, when contracts were again up for renewal.

Carr could have scored a real victory for public power. For the 1965 threat inspired four major public agencies to approach him with an important deal.

They proposed a partnership and regional public power district that would give San Francisco the political and economic leverage to finally wrest control of electrical distribution in San Francisco from PG&E, and at last give city residents the cheap public power that PG&E has been denying them for decades.

The deal also would have headed off these subsequent developments:

\* An excess annual payment of

## How PG&E will make your BART fares 10% higher

Thanks to Pacific Gas & Electric, fares on trains to be operated by BART will be 10 per cent more than they need to be -- meaning that for every \$1 you give BART for fares, you'll have to fork over another dime for friendly PG&E.

The dime will help pay for BART's yearly purchase of 430 million kilowatt hours of electricity from PG&E to run its trains. The overall cost will be between \$4 and \$6 million a year -- 20 per cent of BART's total operating expense.

It might have been otherwise, had James K. Carr, San Francisco's manager of public utilities, carried through a 1965 proposal to deliver cheap public power to BART from Oroville Dam, Hetch Hetchy and a publicly-owned thermal power plant.

Exactly how many millions of dollars would have been cut from BART's electricity bills is not known, for only a study of the public power proposal would have shown that -- and Carr killed that study.

It is clear, however, that BART will pay from \$1.7 million to \$2.6 million more for electricity than it would have had to pay if Carr hadn't blocked access to public power sources in 1965.

This estimate is based on Federal Power Commission figures on the cost of 430 million kilowatt-hours of industrial power in Seattle, a public-power city with a population of 560,000, and San Francisco, a PG&E city with a population of 750,000.

The federal figures show that PG&E rates are 76 per cent higher than Seattle Department of Lighting rates. To make up the difference, you will pay 10 per cent extra to ride BART trains.

\$1.7 to 2.6 million a year to PG&E for the electricity to operate BART trains -- meaning BART fares will be 10 per cent higher than necessary. (See box on this page for details.)

\* PG&E's capture of the massive public power output of the California Water Project's Oroville Dam. PG&E buys this power for about \$20 million, then retails it back to the public for about \$42 million.

\* The annual \$500,000 excess payment by the University of California/Berkeley for PG&E power. Cal wants to get public power to save money, but PG&E refuses to wheel CVP power to the campus and Cal Regents refuse to buck PG&E in court.

\* The increased vulnerability of public power cities throughout Northern California to heavy reliance upon and perhaps ultimate capture of their power systems by PG&E.

Managers of the California Water Project and officials from UC, the transit district and the city of Santa Clara were the ones who approached Carr with the deal to avoid the problems since raised for them.

They proposed to join with San Francisco and pool the power produced at Hetch Hetchy with that produced at Oroville Dam, pool funds to build a jointly-owned thermal power plant to beef up the hydro power and deliver low-cost electricity to each member of the proposed power consortium.

But Carr continued to be concerned only with the idea of using the threat to get PG&E to lower its fees. The consortium proposal fit in nicely with that, however, and Carr ostentatiously instructed Hetch Hetchy

Manager Oral Moore to make a preliminary study of the proposal.

By early fall, Moore was ready to propose a formal study to the utilities commission, to be carried out by R.W. Beck and Associates, an engineering consulting firm, for \$75,000. The city would pay \$15,000, the other agencies would share the balance.

Carr halted the study abruptly, however, when PG&E agreed to lower fees.

After that, managers of the State Water Project not only had to abandon hopes to deliver power directly to public agencies, but also plans to construct their own thermal power plant. Instead, they had to contract to buy thermal power from PG&E and two other private utilities.

The capture by PG&E of the power output of the project's Oroville Dam also means PG&E has managed to interpose itself between Oroville power and BART, which will be one of the chief users of electricity at the dam.

Since the cost of propulsion will constitute the largest single item of operating expense when BART is completed, the fact that it will have to buy power from PG&E will raise fares far higher than they would be if it could buy the power at the much cheaper rates that would have been charged under the proposed consortium. (See box for details.)

Carr's position on the proposal, as outlined in a memorandum to the City Utilities Commission after the feasibility study was halted, showed where he stands on the issues of public power in competition

Continued on Page 13

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# 'A lost opportunity'

Continued from Page 12

with private power. He's against it.

He called the proposal "unrealistic... a move in the wrong direction."

Two years after Carr wrote this, Santa Clara, Alameda and Palo Alto joined eight other public power cities to form the Northern California Power Agency to pool resources for joint projects and for collective resistance to PG&E's threats to take over their power systems.

Their partnership is a feeble one that could have been strengthened greatly by inclusion of the members of the pro-

posed power consortium of 1965.

Carr's judgments were made without the benefit of a serious, systematic study by outside experts. Indeed, his memorandum was intended to prevent such a study.

The Utilities Commission, he wrote, "should devote the staff's limited time and energy to negotiations looking toward a substantial reduction in delivery charges for city power over PG&E lines..."

Carr also wrote of "the great strides that have been made toward lower-cost power and better service through cooperation of private and publicly-owned

power producers ....Further progress....requires great -- not less -- cooperation and pooling of privately-owned and publicly-owned generation and transmission facilities."

This must stand as a minor masterpiece of irony, in view of the huge capital investments the public has made for PG&E during the past 50 years, and PG&E's war on public power distribution.

"Cooperation," it turns out, means letting PG&E control the destiny of the Federal Central Valley Project.

"Progress" means letting PG&E put public power cities out of business to destroy the

competitive yardstick by which PG&E's power rates can be judged.

"Pooling of privately-owned and publicly-owned generation facilities," means turning over public power to PG&E for resale to the public.

The Guardian has contacted knowledgeable people in the four various agencies and found strong agreement on this point: That Carr's decision in 1965 was a serious blow to public power systems in northern California.

There's no reason to believe, either, that Carr's position or that of anyone else has changed since 1965.

Just as in 1965, appropriate sounds are coming from the Utilities Commission these days about studying the acquisition of PG&E -- but no appropriate action.

The study was authorized this April. But nothing has been done about finding answers to the crucial questions on the costs and benefits of buying out PG&E.

It turns out, in fact, that the consulting firm, R.W. Beck, which was designated to do the study, actually has been retained only to help the city on cost-benefit studies relating to the renewal of the PG&E-city contracts.

## Why did Time magazine run a story on The Guardian titled 'raising hell on the bay?'

(Press section, Nov. 23, 1970)

Why did Time mention several of the Guardian's major stories? PG&E's illegal power monopoly in San Francisco? The cracking of the supermarket codes? The Guardian's suit against SuperChron and the Newspaper Preservation Act? Unrepresentative SF grand juries? The scramble for war bodies from Vietnam among local undertakers? The banning of the Guardian from the Press Club's "Pulitzer of the West" contest? U.S. Steel, the Ford Foundation, Chase

Manhattan Bank, Mayor Alioto seeking to, as Time put it, "destroy the beauty of the city with highrises?"

Why did Time say Guardian stories get "results, as well as praise and rewards?"

Get these back Guardians and judge for yourself.

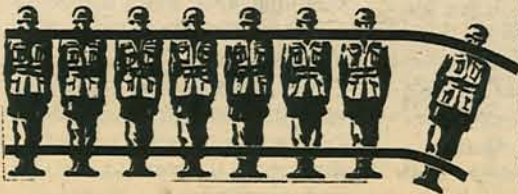
### DRAFT & WAR



Number 34 An entire issue on the California war machine -- war as California's biggest growth industry, the Bay Area as a staging ground for the conflict in Indo China, the professor as a war contractor at Berkeley and Stanford. Maps, statistics and precise breakdown of Defense Department Research at Stanford and Cal, department by department, professor by professor.



Number 27 The embarrassing victims of an unpopular war -- modern technology has produced more brutal and effective anti-personnel weapons, leaving many Viet Nam veterans as amputees.



Number 20 A full issue devoted to the "state of the draft" in the Bay Area -- statistics on draft resistance, interviews with veterans, a report on the draft resisters' underground railroad to Canada.

Number 36 Long-term economic dependence on heavy Government spending has made the Bay Area a military society.

Numbers 14 & 31 The first expose of local draft-boards in the U.S. The Guardian found most of San Francisco's draft boards were not "little groups of neighbors... who determine who is to serve the nation in the Armed forces" (Lt. Gen. Lewis B. Hershey). Most board members neither lived in the neighborhood where they served, nor were they representative of the community racially or financially. Court decisions after this story ruled that inductions by such boards could be illegal. Two years later, we showed San Francisco boards were essentially unchanged.



Number 28 "I Refuse" -- a personal account of one man's refusal to be inducted at the Oakland Induction Center.

Numbers 12 & 13 Political influence peddling, bidding squabbles and mass production techniques as used by Bay Area undertakers as they scramble for the bodies from Viet Nam.



### CONSUMER ISSUES



Number 35 There's no need to buy stale bread, sour milk and rotting meat if you know the supermarket dating codes, published in the Guardian for the first time anywhere -- with special two-page chart showing codes for Safeway, Lucky and Mayfair. Also in this issue, how and where to complain -- and get your money back, with complete listings of government agencies / responsibilities / phone numbers.

Number 27 Inside hot dogs -- they are no bargain when they are high in calories and fat, low in meat and protein. And they don't have labels showing what they do contain.

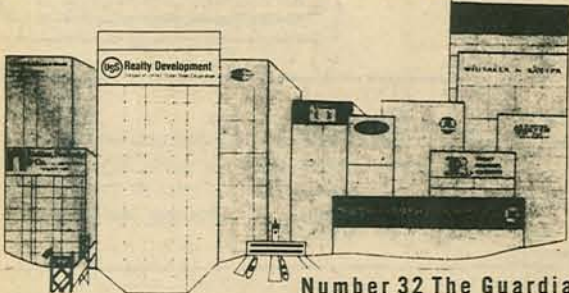


Number 36 How to avoid the supermarket trap -- the little tricks your friendly supermarket uses to make you spend more than you planned on unnecessary and unwanted items.



Number 30 Mispricing, unavailable specials and other sloppy practices make grocery bills higher, as shown by an FTC report on how the poor pay more at the Supermarket.

### CITY PLANNING



Number 32 The Guardian helped precipitate the U.S. Steel building controversy by showing for the first time how the City and the Port were auctioning off the Waterfront (or, as the Mayor described it, the city's "hot-test piece of real estate") to giant corporations for high-rise development.

Number 30 "San Francisco is going, going" and will soon be gone. The Guardian shows with a special, pictorial section the disastrous effect of the Transamerica building and continued high-rise development north of Market St.



Numbers 31 & 33 Two studies of the Yerba Buena redevelopment project. How "redevelopment" is a euphemism for removal of the poor from valuable property. Special chart showing how and which downtown interests will benefit from the project.



Numbers 22, 23, 25. The Guardian's definitive, four-part survey of BART--how it affects the environmental crisis and will "Manhattanize" San Francisco; how waste, inefficiency, too-cozy business tieups and open end contracts have caused costs to spiral; how the system won't live up to its glowing promises of comfort and convenience; and how the Bay Area is spending millions on an out-dated fixed rail system while ignoring bold, new transit systems.

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# Thanksgiving - 'a full belly south of Market'

By Phil Tracy

As a rule I try to avoid funerals. Too many policemen have been killed in San Francisco this year, however, so I decided to pay respects to another human being.

I'd never met Officer Hamilton nor any members of his family. Just something in the back of my mind said to go out there.

For years I've been ambivalent about the men in blue. I've either been in or covered too many demonstrations to think the police exist solely for my protection. But anyone who has ever faced a junkie on the wrong end of a switchblade knows in his gut that when the chips are down his first reaction is to yell "copper" and to hell with how brutal they get.

Perhaps in Pepperland the cops are blue meenies but from where I sit they serve several masters and I have a sinking suspicion I'm one of them.

## The crowd

As I walk up Laguna Honda Boulevard the crowd in front of St. Brendans is acting funny, like people watching a languid street fight. I ask an old grey-haired guy at the corner what's going on.

"The filthy bastards just tried to blow up the church," he screeches.

He doesn't have to tell me anymore. I know who "the filthy bastards" are and why they tried to bomb the church. Every one within three blocks of the church has a clear picture in

his head of who set the bomb. No matter who turns out to be the culprit, if indeed any is ever caught, that picture will remain like a finely etched negative in the minds of all who witnessed the explosion.

I turn away from the old man and his garbled brogue and head back towards the center of the city saying a little prayer of thanks for my short hair, pressed suit and white skin.

## 2000 dinners

The Harbor Light center of the Salvation Army fed close to 2,000 people turkey dinners on Thanksgiving Day. On the way over to the center I consciously try to blot out any vestige of a marxian analysis of the Salvation Army's function.

"Thanksgiving is a joyful holiday," I keep telling myself. "You will be joyful. No matter how crass or paternalistic the volunteers behave you will see nothing but joy."

My worries prove more or less groundless, however. The volunteers serving the food are ordinary people, many with relatives and friends far away in distant cities, who prefer to share Thanksgiving with others rather than spend it by themselves.

Long tables are laid out assembly line style. When one row of diners is finished someone starts at the head of the table and rolls the forty foot long paper table-cloth into one huge bio-degradable trash ball of soiled paper plates, cups, milk cartons and food scraps.

If you're a very slow eater you're liable to see the tail

end of your dinner swept away by a snowball of butcher wrapping. But most of the diners are fast eaters and the intent behind the enforced speed is nothing more sinister than a desire to move the block-long line in front of the Harbor Light's entrance.

Of course there is something inherently sad in any operation such as this. Quite apart from their destitution, what most of the diners lack is not so much the price of a turkey of their own but a family or friends to share it with.

Whatever meaning Thanksgiving has abides in something other than the carcass of some hormone injected bird. It has something to do with cooking and eating a big meal together with your family, lying around the house in the late afternoon, visiting or having visitors drop over and going to bed early stuffed and relaxed.

Whatever the true meaning of Thanksgiving, it can't be handed out by strangers to strangers and certainly not on an assembly line basis. So the Salvation Army settles for distributing the token symbols of the day, a drumstick, some stuffing, a slice of mince pie.

It's not their fault. They do the best they can under bad circumstances and a full belly is its own justification south of Market Street.

As I leave Harbor Lights, a couple of volunteers are loading styrofoam containers with dinners for delivery to shut-ins and elderly people. Sadness and poverty mixed with kindness and concern. Not an idyllic picture, but certainly not a hopeless one either.

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# A moving experience

By Jennifer Cross

*"Bekins men are careful, quick and kind. Bekins takes a load off of your mind. It costs you less because they move you faster. Every man is a moving master... If you can find anyone who can move you for less than Bekins, good luck!"*

Don't be deceived by this merry little jingle. If you are one of the 40 million Americans moving next year, your experience still will be one of the worst hassles known to civilized man. Bekins is not particularly cheap, and not necessarily careful.

And whichever company you choose, you run a substantial risk of being overcharged. Last year, 13,306 cases of underestimating/overcharging were reported to the State Public Utilities Commission. Of these, 2,760 were for more than 10%, with an average of 28%, or \$138. The PUC also got 183 complaints about this, plus another 85 about loss or damage.

However, there is a small gleam of hope. People with complaints are getting their day, if not in court, at least before the PUC, which oversees intrastate household carriers and moves, and is winding up hearings on some important regulatory changes to make life easier for consumers.

One irate witness was Dr. Bruce Friedman, a Piedmont physician, who moved from Oakland in May, 1969. His friendly moving company -- Bekins -- had given him a written estimate for \$165 to move some art works plus \$295.80 for the main job, supposed to be done in eight hours by three men and one van. On moving day, six men showed up with two vans -- and the "careful, quick and kind" moving men dragged their feet, threatening to walk off the job at 6 p.m.

## To motel

Faced with sleeping in an empty house, Dr. Friedman asked, "Where is my family going to go?" They suggested a

motel, naturally at his expense. In response to his pleading, the men worked until 10:30 p.m., then socked the doctor for 6 1/2 hours overtime, and a staggering bill of \$1,180.07.

Neither Dr. Friedman, nor other witnesses with similar complaints, had any choice but to pay up. However, the doctor got his bill reduced to \$757.69 after he complained loudly to Bekins' Oakland office, the company president in Los Angeles and finally to the PUC.

What are the reasons for this dismal situation? Moving companies, with some justification, blame the public. They claim people overlook tools in the basement and trunks in the attic and demand extra services which don't appear on the original estimate but wind up on the final bill. They attribute delays to traffic snarls, or last minute changes in plan by other customers.

Frequently, a cloud of mutual recriminations obscures who really was at fault. In Dr. Friedman's case, Bekins claimed he had not shown them a basement full of photographic equipment and asked for additional packing service -- charges which the doctor denied.

## Ex-moving man

But the public's sloppiness does not absolve the industry from cleaning house. Witness William P. Barry, an ex-moving man who quit the business because he felt "there must be some better means of employment," told the PUC that deliberate underestimating was widespread. Large carriers often employ local agents whose salesmen, paid on commission, are under great pressure to drum up trade.

"That is why you have underestimating," he said. "It is a highly competitive business. It is a seasonal business, and there are too many people in much of the off-season, and not enough during the summertime (May-

September) when most people are moving".

Honest estimators often lose out to less scrupulous competitors. Also, underestimating leads to over-booking, which in turn leads to costly delays in delivery.

## Padding weight

Another trick, sometimes detected by sealers of weights and measures, is "bumping," or deliberately padding the weight of the customer's furniture when it is weighed in the van before a long distance move.

This November, for instance, a Merced trucker was caught weighing in two helpers with a load of furniture. Occasionally, firms add a full 600 pound tank of gasoline instead of weighing it with the empty van.

If the commission adopts the new rules proposed by the PUC staff, movers will not be able to charge more than 10% or \$25 (whichever is less) above estimate for all moves inside California.

This would be an improvement over the new Interstate Commerce Commission rules on interstate moves, which merely allow customers 15 days' grace to pay such overcharges. The Association of California Consumers would like to go one better, and hold carriers to their estimates.

There is no reason the industry should not be able to live with this, since estimates are more or less accurate (within 10%) 80% of the time, and in any case include a generous contingency factor.

## No position

To date, the California Moving & Storage Association, which represents 800 out of California's 1150 carriers, claims it has taken no position (although it may well do so before the hearings end this month). Meanwhile, it is employing legal counsel to grill the PUC and Consumer Association witnesses.

Hearings are regularly packed with moving men, who sit solidly and silently like rows of mahogany wardrobes. In the view of one PUC attorney, they may well decide to try to cut the proposed regulation down to match the ICC's - in which case the public would still end up paying overcharges.

According to Gerald Poznancovich, past president of the movers' association (and a Bekins agent), the PUC proposal would not solve the estimating problem. He claims it would result in high prices to the public as carriers increased their charges to compensate for occasional losses caused by having to stick to their estimates.

Judging by past experience, the PUC can indeed expect some static. The American Movers Association fought long and hard to block the new ICC ruling, even taking the Commission to court last spring in an attempt to safeguard yet another profitable moving season. In the California Legislature two bills proposing similar reforms quietly died in committee.

## Public disadvantage

Even if the industry-oriented PUC adopts its own staff proposal, the public will still remain at a tremendous disadvantage vis a vis the movers. Here's why:

1. You must pay cash, money order, traveler's/cashier's/certified check - and in the case of long distance moves, fork out before your furniture is unloaded. None of these checks can be stopped in case of a disputed bill.

2. If you refuse to pay, the mover can legally put your furniture in storage at your expense, then take you to court.

3. There is no legal way to get compensation for delays in delivery or incompetent work. You arrive in a strange place, minus your furniture, and you are as vulnerable as a shelled crab. Motel bills are on you.

4. California movers are not allowed to compete very hard on the basis of price. The PUC sets minimum rates, and specifies additional services that must be charged for. The ICC does not set rates, but merely requires that rates shall be published.

5. A mover's responsibility for loss and damage is limited to 60 cents per pound per item. This is at least half what your furniture is probably worth, the industry admits.

6. Legal machinery to settle disputes is slow, clumsy and weighted in favor of the carriers.

Neither the PUC nor the ICC admit jurisdiction over claims for loss and damage, delays or even underestimating, merely for breaches of the rate requirements. The PUC, and sometimes the Better Business Bureau, can lean on carriers to get partial, voluntary adjustments in the interests of public relations. Otherwise you must go to court.

There is still time for the public to influence the PUC's decision on whether to tighten the rules on underestimating. Write to John P. Vukasian Jr., the PUC chairman (a conservative) at 350 McAllister St., S.F. You might also add that you support the creation of more effective machinery to settle disputes over household moving, and suggest the PUC ought to set maximum rather than minimum rates.

## What to do next time

The first thing in preparing to move, of course, is choosing a moving company. Whatever you do, you will probably get a pig in a poke. But it does help to consult friends, neighbors and the Better Business Bureau, which will tell you if it has received complaints about particular companies.

You can get some idea of the accuracy of a company's estimating habits by consulting the PUC's files on underestimates. Unfortunately, these do not give the total number of estimates made per year by any one company, so it's hard to say whether any firm is good, bad or indifferent.

But on the basis of the PUC's limited evidence, the more accurate companies appear to be Lyon Van & Storage, Lyon Van Lines, Lawrence Mayflower Moving & Storage and Preferred Moving & Storage. The least accurate appear to be Allied Van Lines, Merrill's Transfer & Storage, NACAL and Bekins.

If you are moving locally (less than 50 miles), the minimum rates are normally based on time, at \$12.45 per hour for one man and a van; \$22 for two men and a van, and \$7.75 for each extra man. This is what six companies actually charge in San Francisco for the hourly services of two men and a van: American Van Lines \$24, Allied Van Lines \$28, Bekins \$26, National Van Lines \$22 and Lyon \$24.

Be sure to check when overtime begins, usually at 4:30 or 5 p.m. and all day Saturdays and Sundays. This will cost you time and a half or double time.

Long distance rates (more than 50 miles) are based on weight and distance. On a 50-mile move, 1,000 pounds of furniture (about one roomful) would cost \$72.50; 2,000 pounds, \$107.50; 5,000 pounds, \$222.50, and 8,000 pounds, \$364.

Weight estimates are based on a formula of the cubic footage of your furniture times seven. The actual weight is obtained by weighing the van empty, then filled with your furniture, and subtracting the difference.

Consult your mover in advance about extra charges. These can include packing and unpacking on long distance moves, packing materials, extra pickup and delivery, warehouse handling and storage, special servicing of appliances, carrying pianos or heavy articles. You also could be charged for extra flights of stairs, or if the van cannot park within 50 feet of your home.

You also have some rights that should be remembered:

1. You can ask for a free estimate, and a free inventory on long distance moves (otherwise make your own).
2. You should be notified by telephone or telegram at least 24 hours ahead if there will be a delay in delivery. Be sure the moving company knows where to contact you.
3. On interstate moves, you have 15 days' grace to pay extra charges of 10% or more.
4. Movers cannot legally remove furniture from your home in case of a disputed bill, though on short moves they may attempt to withhold your television set or refrigerator to induce you to pay.
5. You can ask for your furniture to be reweighed if you suspect an error, and accompany the van while this is being done. You will be charged for this unless the error is more than 10%.

To prevent loss and damage, these things should be remembered:

1. Carry small, valuable items yourself.
2. Ask the mover to increase the value of your shipment from 60 cents a pound to \$1.25 a pound on interstate moves. This will cost 50 cents per \$100 valuation. The carrier will then be responsible for making good the actual value of or damage to the article. Alternatively, arrange for outside insurance.
3. Never sign the inventory without checking the condition of each piece of furniture. Carriers will mark the form with code letters, e.g. SC (scratched), G (gouged) or CH (chipped). These are explained in fine print on the inventory form. Also check your possessions as they are unloaded for damage in transit, and mark the inventory accordingly.
4. Try not to move in a rush.
5. Be sure the mover gives you either the ICC's "Summary for shippers of household goods", or the PUC's "When moving your household goods in California".
6. Never sign anything without reading it carefully.
7. If you have a complaint, don't haggle with the driver of the van. Call the company manager immediately. If that fails, call or write the company president and the PUC.
8. Allow extra time in case of a delayed delivery. Bring sleeping bags with you if you have them, and prepare to camp.
9. Bring extra cash along to cover any extra charges (below 10%).

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# "I wasn't up to the quality of Gummer Street," says Dan C

From a 1969, 4 page promotional brochure for O'Neill's Odd Bodkins, distributed to editors throughout the country by the Chronicle Feature Syndicate.

“On a Monday just before last Thanksgiving, The San Francisco Chronicle decided to drop a relatively obscure comic strip called ODD BODKINS in order to accommodate a nationally known one. A safe move, an editor might say. But, if he did, he would be wrong. Even before the move was made, the rumbling started. Then amid cries of grief and bereavement, down came the ceiling —and then the roof.

“Why do people always get rid of the things they need most? The Athenians disposed of Socrates. The Romans removed Christ. And now the Chronicle of Odd Bodkins.”

“I am in agony.”

“We’ll call in the Bat-winged Hamburger Snatcher to snatch Scott Newhall.”

“It is the work of a cretin to abandon now someone whose work is clearly as original as that of the young Al Capp, Crockett Johnson or Charles Schultz.”

“Cancelled your rag. Glad to renew anytime you do the same for Odd Bodkins.”

**“What the hell do you think you’re doing?”**

“Immediately return Odd Bodkins or face a rising tide of readers massing together for the sole purpose of tearing your building down, brick by brick.”

“It’s no longer worthwhile to go out in the morning and steal the paper from our neighbors.”

So ends the story—or almost. At The Chronicle, we still are not sure what hit us or why. What we do know is that somehow, in a manner often incomprehensible to us as it may be to you, ODD BODKINS has made contact. We are convinced that only the dropping of PEANUTS could create a comparable hurricane.



Continued from Page 1

Connoisseurs of O'Neill vicissitudes report the following:

1. A note appears at the end of an O'Neill strip. Send self-addressed stamped envelope, it says, to Dan O'Neill, c/o General Delivery, Jenner. You will get a secret message. (Fifteen hundred people wrote in the first time, O'Neill answered about 400 himself.)
2. You write O'Neill. You get an envelope back, obviously hand-addressed by O'Neill, with a personal note, drawing and a copy of a strip he says was censored by The Chronicle. Watch for the code word "bingo," O'Neill's instructions say, and when the word appears, send him another envelope. He will send you a quiz.
3. You take the quiz. ("It's nothing special," O'Neill says.

"I'd let J. Edgar Hoover take it if he wanted to. I just doubt he'd pass." If Hoover doesn't pass? "I'd give it to him again. I'd keep him at it." For those who do pass? "I send them one of my comic books and a decoder."

4. With the decoder, you can decipher secret messages O'Neill will put in his comic books.

The idea is O'Neill will be a complete do-it-yourself publishing house: he does the comic book himself, prints it on his own press, sends it to his own audience, does the mailing himself with a small staff of hippies he'll pay on a piece work basis.

No Chronicle, no mass media, no dependence on other writers, publishers, distributors or newsstand dealers. Just vintage O'Neill.

O'Neill's four page comic strip and distribution conference at Glide Mission. Purpose: to severance and to launch a man publishing. The chairman, the Blot, says, "In my book, 'In my mind and soul, I with vases, nose.' Bucky B. comic strip O'Neill, d. Injun, r. strip doesn't question."

Then the converse: '...there is time... as long as we don't have... he's either has fleas.'

Then the a. "Do you three 52 p and Hugh. enough. c please inse and swallow

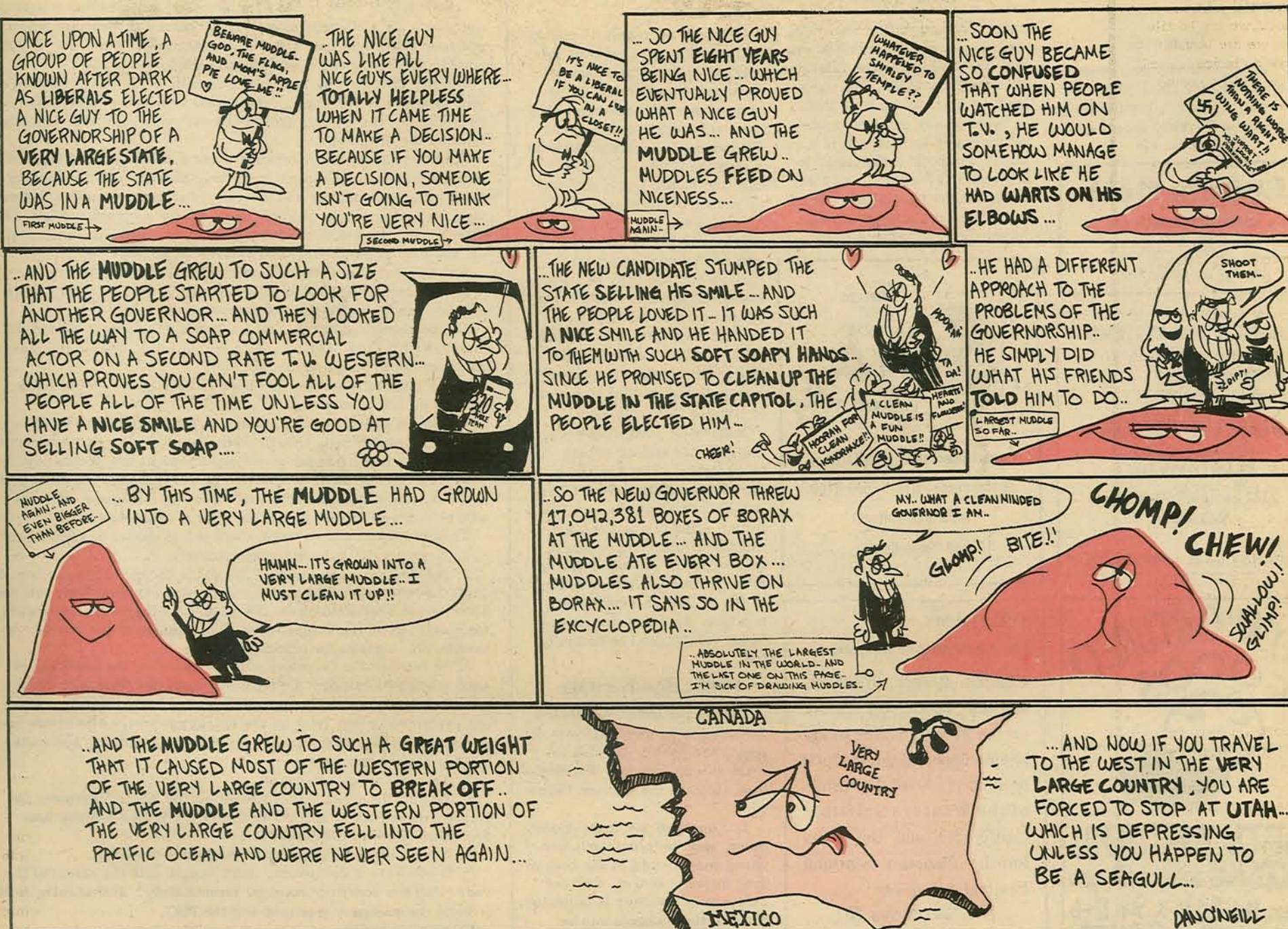
Parting: you do to do to me. cop today. smile back

O'Neill ence talked commune, for Glide, a television anxious to before dead but it took navigate the Glide and of Market

Word was with B ling Stone. Gottstein a the feature at the erot Finally, w radio and at the stati

He was called and up on the downtown ally got to a carton o ton of strai ished off t Bug cartoo Where i only the G

O'Neill's "State of the State" message in the Guardian, just before Reagan was elected governor in November, 1966 —



"I told you so." O'Neill, 1970







The Law of Millions

It has long been known among members of our poorer communities that the severity of the penalty for a crime is an inverse proportion to the monetary value involved. For example: A \$70 gas station robbery has kept George Jackson of the Soledad Three in prison for more than 10 years, while a Silverthorne or a Wolfson, stealing many millions, is usually let out after a year or so.

The very same inverse law tends to work in rules regulating city planning. Thus, a house owner who would like to improve his property by building a small gazebo in his rear yard is told that the law does not allow it.

This is legally a rear yard, and must be kept open to the sky. But if a major land developer owns one block and purchases another across a street, and that street is not heavily trafficked, the city will bend over backwards to make sure that the developer is given a bargain price to eliminate that open space altogether and make the already rich developer richer. The rationale for this absurdity is that the city also becomes richer, in dollars.

The way this works in San Francisco is that at the \$10,000 level, the bureaucracy is immovable. At about \$100,000 a project will be given special consideration by the Board of Permit Appeals. At the \$1 million level the City Planning Commission will step in to reverse the recommendations of its own planning department.

At approximately \$20 million, the Mayor and the Board of Supervisors step in to make sure that the project will be given the red carpet regardless of other city planning considerations.

There is a glimmer of hope at the \$50 million level, where the project is large enough to attract major attention from the citizenry. There was enough public indignation over the giveaway of city streets to the International Market Center Project to actually finance a law suit, which seems to have collapsed the project.

There is just the possibility that the voters who wanted a "return of the Port to the city" will stop the U.S. Steel project and a "return of the Port to the real estate interests". This might mean the beginning of the end of government in San Francisco as we know it today.

by Henrik Bull

'The Magnificent Seven' in local radio ratings

Understanding radio ratings -- those magic numbers that dictate what you hear on radio -- is easier if you imagine the Bay Area audience as a large, juicy pie.

Divide it into about 10 slices -- one slice for news, one slice for talks, one slice for concert music and the rest -- and give everyone a slice.

The only problem comes when your 10 slices must be shared among 15 stations; then several stations start wrestling for a slice.

Example: the "talk" slice for a time was shared by KCBS, KGO and KNEW. KGO got the better grip on that slice, and the other two gave up, leaving that portion of the Bay Area radio audience to KGO.

Example: KSFR (FM) struggled with KKHI for years for control of the "concert music" slice of the listenership. KKHI, with both an AM and an FM outlet, won the struggle, and KSFR (now KSAN) changed to an "acid-rock-underground-hip" format. KMPX is challenging KSAN for this audience.

Example: KDIA dominated the "Negro" field for years, finally shaking off the threat from KSOL this summer. Now, KDIA has the "black" slice.

But the struggle over "a piece of the pie" is not always a hard-fought event. Some stations have such a firm grip on their slice that they can relax and count their profits.

After losing the "talk" slice to KGO, KCBS revamped its muddy format into an all-news operation and now is comfortably high in the ratings with the "news" share. KFRC fumbled for years with a music, talk, variety format, then switched to become a "rock

machine" and knocked KYA so far back they are only now starting to recover.

KABL has always held the "background music" slice. Except for a constant threat from KNBR, the "pop-personality" share has gone to KSFO (with a little help from their friends, the Giants).

THE MAGNIFICENT SEVEN \*

The latest ratings show the same stations on top as usual, with only minor shuffling of positions:

- 1. KSFO
- 2. KGO
- 3. KFRC
- 4. KCBS
- 5. KYA
- 6. KABL
- 7. KNBR

\* = Based on figures from American Research Bureau, Pulse and Hooper, and from special Guardian surveys.

For comparison, here are the "Magnificent Seven" of five years ago:

- 1. KSFO
- 2. KYA
- 3. KABL
- 4. KEWB (now KNEW)
- 5. KCBS / KGO
- 6. KNBR
- 7. KFRC

With the exception of Metro-media's KEWB (KNEW), all the top stations then are the top stations now.

In FM, K-101 is the top station according to the ratings. KFOG and KSAN are in a tight race for second place. Everybody else is way back. Everyone has his "slice of pie."

By our correspondent

TO: California citizens FROM: The Planning and Conservation League SUBJECT: A dozen murders solved

Eds. note: The Guardian will regularly publish "birdwatching reports" on important conservation, civil liberties and civil rights legislation this next session in Sacramento. Also, similar reports from San Francisco and on regional agencies. Let us know which politicians and bills you want us to keep tabs on.

1970 was to have been the year for ecology -- the Year of The Environment.

Especially in Sacramento, where more than 300 environmental measures were introduced in the California Legislature.

But only a tiny handful of major bills to save or protect or enhance our environment became law.

The only word for it is murder -- outright, deliberate killing, often cleverly done, behind the scenes and hopefully beyond detection.

But somebody was watching, all the time.

This is what the witnesses saw --

In the Senate, the major killers were:

Clark Bradley (R-San Jose); Hugh Burns (D-Fresno); Randolph Collier (D-Yreka); Fred W. Marler (R-Redding); H.L. Richardson (R-Arcadia); Lawrence E. Walsh (D-Commerce); James Q. Wedworth (D-Inglewood); James E. Whetmore (R-Garden Grove).

They voted against all or very nearly all of the environmental measures that came before them -- on the Senate floor or in committee.

Major Senate accomplices, who voted against or declined to vote an overwhelming majority of the time, were:

Richard Dolwig (R-San Mateo); Lou Cusanovich (R-Sherman Oaks); John L. Harmer (R-Glendale); Robert J. Lagomarsino (R-Ventura); Jack Schrade (R-San Diego); Alan Short (D-Stockton); Stephen Teale (D-Sacramento);

In the Assembly, the major killers were:

Robert Badham (R-Newport Beach); Robert Burke (R-Huntington Beach); Eugene Chappie (R-Cool); John L. Collier (R-South Pasadena); Gordon Duffy (R-Hanford); Ray E. Johnson (R-Chico); William Ketchum (R-Bakersfield); Jerry Lewis (R-San Bernardino); Carlos Moorhead (R-Glendale); Floyd Wakefield (R-Downey).

Major Assembly accomplices were:

Henry Arklin (R-Mission Hills); Richard Barnes (R-San Diego); Frank Belotti (R-Eureka); Clare Berryhill (R-Modesto); Craig Biddle (R-Riverside); John Briggs (R-Fullerton); William Campbell (R-La Puente); Charles Conrad (R-Sherman Oaks); Earle Crandall (R-San Jose); Mike Cullen (D-Long Beach); James Dent (R-Concord); James Hayes (R-Long Beach); Frank Lanterman (R-Pasadena); W. Don Mac Gillivray (R-Santa Barbara); Ernest Mobley (R-Fresno); Robert Monagan (R-Stockton); Frank Murphy, Jr. (R-Merced); Peter Schabarum (R-Covina); Kent Stacey (R-Bakersfield); John Stull (R-Encinitas); Victor Veysey (R-Brawley).

The witnesses to all of the legislative murders were 24 members of the Planning and Conservation League who attended more than 150 committee hearings on environmental legislation in Sacramento in 1970.

Much of the damage was done quietly, in committee hearings on these bills:

AB 79, to eliminate lead in gasoline by 1977. Killed in a 4-4 vote by the Senate Transportation Committee. FOR: Marks (D-SF), Mills (D-San Diego), Walsh (D-Commerce), Way (R-Exeter). AGAINST: Dills (D-San Pedro), Kennick (D-Long Beach), Sherman (R-Berkeley). NOT VOTING: Collier (chairman). ABSENT: Alquist (D-San Jose), Carrell (D-San Fernando).

ACA 38, to transfer gas tax revenues from highway to rapid transit funds. Needed seven votes to pass, killed in 5-4 vote by Senate Transportation. FOR: Dills, Marks, Mills, Sherman, Way. AGAINST: Collier, Kennick, Marler, Whetmore. ABSENT: Alquist, Carrell, Short, Walsh.

SB 371, to establish master plan to protect the vanishing coastline. Killed by being sent to interim study in a unanimous vote by the Senate Government Organization Committee. Voting were Kennick, Marks, Marler, Danielson (D-LA), Teale. ABSENT: Walsh, Whetmore, Dolwig, Burns, Schrade.

SB 1400, to create commission to regulate development on all open space and lands in the SF Bay Area. Needed seven votes to pass, killed by 6-6 vote in Senate Finance Committee. FOR: Carrell, Marler, Way, Grunsky (R-Santa Cruz), Burgener (R-San Diego), Lagomarsino. AGAINST: Teale, Collier, Wedworth, Coombs (R-San Bernardino), Cusanovich, Stiern, (D-Bakersfield). ABSENT: Short.

SB 66, to ban smog-producing vehicles from California by 1975. Killed in 5-3 vote by Assembly Transportation Committee. FOR: Deddeh (D-Ghula Vista), Roberti (D-LA), Sieroty (D-LA), AGAINST: Foran (D-SF), Arklin, Berryhill, Lanterman, Schabarum. ABSENT: Burke, Gonsalves (D-Norwalk), Dunlap (D-Vallejo).

SB 331, to delay construction of a southern crossing bridge over SF Bay pending further study. Killed in a 5-3 vote by Assembly Transportation. FOR: Foran, Roberti, Sieroty. AGAINST: Burke, Arklin, Berryhill, Deddeh, Schabarum. ABSENT: Gonsalves, Dunlap, Lanterman.

AB 2050, to create Environmental Quality Control Board with veto over all state public works projects. Killed in 3-1 vote by Assembly Natural Resources and Conservation Committee. FOR: Wood (R-LA), AGAINST: Fong (D-Oakland), Monagan (R-Tracy), Thomas (D-San Pedro). ABSENT: Sieroty, Wakefield. UNRECORDED: Milias (R-Los Gatos), MacGillivray, Warren (D-LA).

The votes on the floor of the Senate and Assembly are shown in the tables on this page and on page 21.

Key Senate votes on conservation 1970

	SB 331 Southern Crossing	SB 66 Ban Smog Cars	AB 493 Public Beaches	SCA 18 Public Trans- portation	SCA 13 Fight Air Pollution
"Good" = FOR the environment.			"Bad" = AGAINST the environment		
Alquist (D) San Jose	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Bradley (R) San Jose	Bad	Bad	Good	Bad	Bad
Collier (D) Yreka	Bad	Bad	Bad	Bad	Bad
Dolwig (R) Redwood City	Absent	Bad	Good	Not Voting	Bad
Grunsky (R) Santa Cruz	Good	Good	Good	Good	Bad
Marks (R) SF	Good	Good	Absent	Good	Good
Marler (R) Redding	Bad	Bad	Bad	Not Voting	Bad
McCarthy (R) San Rafael	Bad	Bad	Absent	Good	Good
Moscone (D) SF	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Nejedly (R) Martinez	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Petris (D) Oakland	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Rodda (D) Sacramento	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Sherman (R) Berkeley	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Short (D) Stockton	Not Voting	Good	Absent	Not Voting	Not Voting
Teale (D) Sacramento	Not Voting	Not Voting	Good	Good	Bad



# A San Francisco Christmas

By Susan Morris

Although it often appears otherwise, you really don't have to spend a lot of money to enjoy the special pleasures of the Christmas season.

Consider, for example, the events listed on this page in the Guardian's guide to a Merry Christmas.

## Downtown Events

It costs almost nothing to take the kids to see Santa Claus, and at Macy's downtown the children will get a free ticket for San Francisco Experience, the unique portrayal of the city now showing at Ghirardelli Square.

Santa will appear at Macy's from 9:30 a.m. to 9:15 p.m. Monday through Saturday and from noon to 5 p.m. on Sundays, on the sixth floor. (Santa will be at Macy's Serramonte store from 10 a.m. to 9 p.m. Monday through Saturday and from noon to 5 p.m. Sundays.)

He'll be on the fifth floor at the City of Paris, from 11 a.m. to 6 p.m., Monday through Saturday -- along with a huge, beautifully decorated tree that rises up four floors high.

At the Emporium downtown, Santa will be on the sixth floor from 1 p.m. to 9 p.m. daily, along with a Christmas carnival that offers rides from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. for 15 to 20 cents daily, and free ice shows on Dec. 12 and 19 at noon and at 2 p.m. (At the Emporium's Stonestown Store, Santa's hours will be 9:30 a.m. to 9:30 p.m., Monday through Saturday, noon to 5 p.m. Sunday.)

There also, of course, are such sights as the incredible Christmas tree decorations on display at Podesta-Baldocchi on Grant Avenue, the fantastic selection of toys at F.A.O. Schwarz' Children's World at 180 Post St., and the beautiful window displays in such stores as Gumps and I. Magnin.

And don't forget the huge tree at the Fairmont Hotel -- probably the largest in the city -- the noontime caroling that is to begin at the Mark Hopkins the week before Christmas, and the decorations reminiscent of old San Francisco at the San Francisco Hotel in Civic Center.

Beautiful decoration is to be seen as well at Ghirardelli Square, where special Christmas lights are strung.

Take a look, too, at the area in the Marina District around Baker Street and the Palace of Fine Arts. The combination of decorated boats and houses, together with special lights centered on the Palace, makes it one of the prettiest spots in the city at Christmas time.

There's also the Tree Festival in Maiden Lane. There will be more than 100 decorated trees, noontime fashion shows and entertainment including strolling carolers through Christmas.

## Caroling

If you want to hear Christmas carols -- and free -- you should have no trouble. For instance:

Choral groups from all over the city will sing in Union Square daily through Dec. 24, between noon and 1 p.m. and between 7 and 8:30 p.m. except on Sundays and Christmas Eve.

The San Francisco Bach Choir will give a concert in the old Presbyterian Church at Van Ness Avenue and Sacramento Street at 7:30 p.m. on Dec. 13.

The Cable Car Carollers will climb aboard cable cars to sing during the early evening hours between Dec. 14 and 24.

The Recreation and Park Department will present its annual "Christmas Carol Festival" in the City Hall rotunda at 4 p.m. Dec. 15.

The San Francisco Boys Chorus will give its annual Christmas concert at the Calvary Presbyterian Church at Jackson and Fillmore Streets at 5 p.m. Dec. 20.

Carol Vespers will be presented at Grace Cathedral at 4 p.m. Dec. 20 with organist Richard Purvis conducting the orchestra and chorus.

The San Francisco Boys Chorus will sing carols at noon Dec. 22 in the Dickensian setting of the Chartered Bank of London at 465 California St.

## Services

Included among the traditional Christmas Eve services are those at these churches:

Grace Cathedral where, beginning at 10:45 p.m. there will be caroling, followed by a service at 11 p.m.

Mission Dolores, where the traditional Midnight Mass will be celebrated.

The First Unitarian Church at 1187 Franklin St. in San Francisco, with an 11 p.m. candlelight service.

Christ Episcopal Church at San Carlos and Santa Rosa in Sausalito, where there will be a family service with slides and music at 8 p.m. and communion service at 11 p.m.

The Piedmont Community Church, 400 Highland Ave. in Piedmont, with a Christmas pageant beginning at 7:30 p.m. with a youth group presentation of the Christmas story with music.

## Toys



The International Child Art Center in Ghirardelli Square will have a toy sale between noon and 6 p.m. through Dec. 13. Bay Area artists have designed toys especially for the sale, which benefits the center.

## Party

Bishops' Coffee House, at 1437 Harrison St. in Oakland, will have a Christmas Eve party from 7:30 p.m. to midnight. There will be story telling, music, movies and wine punch.

## Museums

Need a break from Christmas? How about some unusual museum-going? For no admission at all, you can visit these museums:

The Chinese Historical Society museum, 17 Adler Place, off Grant Avenue. Open 1 to 5 p.m. on Tuesday through Saturday to display artifacts used by the Chinese in America, particularly in California during the Gold Rush.

The American Indian Historical Society museum at 1451 Masonic Ave.; 2 to 5 p.m. Tuesday through Sunday; traditional and contemporary American Indian crafts and fine arts.

The San Francisco Negro Historical and Cultural Society, 1447 Fillmore St.; 7 to 9 p.m. Monday and Wednesday, 11 a.m. to 4 p.m. Saturday; exhibits pertaining to African and Afro-American history.

Wells Fargo Bank History Room; 420 Montgomery St.; 10 a.m. to 3 p.m. Monday through Friday; western momentos from the days of the Gold Rush to the 1906 fire and earthquake plus a reference library.

The San Francisco Fire Department Pioneer Memorial Museum; 655 Presidio Ave; 1 to 5 p.m. daily; fire-fighting apparatus and photos of historic local fires.

Josephine D. Randall Junior Museum, Roosevelt Way and Museum Way, San Francisco; 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. Monday through Saturday, noon to 5 p.m. Sunday; rocks, minerals, fossils, shells, Indian relics, model airplanes and trains, live animals.

Museum of Russian Culture; 2450 Sutter St.; Tuesdays only, 5 to 9 p.m.; displays illustrating history and culture of Russia, particularly the 20th century, plus a reference library.

San Francisco Maritime Museum; Aquatic Park, foot of Polk Street; 10 a.m. to 5 p.m. daily; ship models, figureheads, anchors. Also, at Pier 23, is the sailing ship Balclutha, open to the public daily from 10 a.m. to 10 p.m., and the Eppleron Hall, a rare steam-driven paddlewheel tug.

The Bank of California; 400 California St.; display on the lower level of money used in the American West.

The San Francisco Museum of Art, McAllister and Van Ness Sts., has a Holiday Festival Exhibition, including paintings of well-known West Coast artists that can be purchased for Christmas giving.



## Drama, Music, Films

Design by Dana Sardet

An evening of children's plays and story telling will be presented free beginning at 8 p.m. on Dec. 11 at the Dance Center, 50 Scott St.

There also are other events which, while not free, don't cost very much. They include:

The "Nutcracker Suite" ballet, to be given in 19 performances this year at the San Francisco Opera House. Tickets costing \$2.50 to \$6.50 are available by telephoning 751-2212.

Bach's Christmas Oratorio, presented at Temple Methodist Church, 19th Avenue and Junipero Serra, at 8:15 p.m. Dec. 11 (Donation.)

"The Christmas Star" presentation at the Morrison Planetarium, at 2 p.m. daily with evening shows on Wednesdays and Sundays at 8 p.m. Children under 12 are admitted free, those under 18 pay 25 cents, others are charged 50 cents.

The film, "Amelia and the Angel" to be presented free, along with "The Red Balloon," at the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art at 1 p.m. Dec. 12.

The Yule Pageant to be given at the Oakland Auditorium at 8 p.m. Dec. 12 and at 3 p.m. Dec. 13. It features 1,700 singing and dancing school children. Tickets, at \$1, \$1.50 and \$2, can be reserved at 273-3269.

KPFA Christmas Festival from noon to 10 p.m., Dec. 19 and from noon to 6 p.m., Dec. 20 at the Finnish Hall, 1810 Tenth St., Berkeley. There will be pottery, jewelry, paintings, entertainment, food, children's booths, puppet shows, live Christmas music. (Donation optional.)

The play, "Twelve Days of Christmas" by Marvin Rosenberg, will be presented at the Cedar-Bonito Coffee House, 166 Bonito in Berkeley at 9 p.m. Dec. 11. (Fifty-cent donation.)

A free film, "Child's Christmas in Wales: Dylan Thomas," will be presented at noon Dec. 23 in the Medical Sciences Auditorium of the University of California. Medical Center, 500 Parnassus Ave.

"Santa Claus' Beard," presented by the San Francisco Children's Opera at 2:30 p.m. Dec. 20 in the Roosevelt Junior High School Auditorium, 460 Arguello Blvd., off Geary. Tickets, at \$1 to \$2, are available through 386-9622.

## Trees

Still looking for a Christmas tree? Try the Bay Christmas Tree Ranch, two miles north of Stinson Beach off Route 101. You pick out the tree you want and they chop it down for you -- at a standard price of \$5.95 per tree.

You can chop down your own tree at Lund's, 2134 Big Ranch Rd., Napa, about one hour's drive from San Francisco. A 9 ft. Monterey pine costs \$6. Other trees range in price from \$5 to \$9.



## Tours

If you tire of Christmas shopping, partying, museum-going or whatever, there always are free tours. You can tour these places, for example:

West Coast Stock Exchange, 301 Pine St., between 9 a.m. and 2:30 p.m. Call ahead, at 392-6533, if you want a guide.

Federal Reserve Building, Sansome and Sacramento Streets. Call 397-1137 to make arrangements.

DeYoung Museum, Golden Gate Park in San Francisco and the Oakland Museum. Docent tours daily at 10 a.m. and 2 p.m. San Francisco Opera House, Van Ness Avenue at Grove Street. Call 626-8345 to arrange out-of-season tours.

Continental Baking Company, 1525 Bryant St., 9:30 a.m. Wednesdays only. Call KL2-0950 in advance.

Anchor Steam Beer, 541 Eighth St., mornings Monday through Friday. Includes a 45-minute tour of the brewery and free glasses of steam beer. Call 863-1495 a day in advance.

San Francisco firehouses. Any firehouse can be toured between 10 a.m. and noon and 1 p.m. and 4:30 p.m. Monday through Saturday.



# LETTERS

To the editor:

As I told you on the phone last evening, I feel it is unfortunate and unfair that Time Magazine implies that The Examiner rejected an advertisement recently submitted by your publication.

Until I read the article in Time Magazine I did not know of the incident involving the Von Hoffman column. Since then I have talked with Mr. Robert La Fontaine and reconstructed the facts as follows:

1. A young lady representing your publication brought a check and advertising copy to the Advertising Department.

2. The young lady was advised that the check was not in the proper amount for the proposed advertisement. However, this was not considered a major obstacle.

3. The proposed advertisement was primarily a reprint of a Von Hoffman column. Your young lady was advised that the column was the property of the author and the syn-

dicate and could not be accepted without an appropriate release. She was further advised that the advertisement would require clearance with the respective publishers.

4. The young lady departed the offices. She did not return.

Had the advertisement been submitted to me, I would have accepted it.

I do not believe you have any responsibility to correct the Time Magazine piece. In fact, were I in your position, I would glory in the puffery of both Time and Von Hoffman.

At the same time I would be forced to privately admit that the reports raised serious doubts about the journalistic acumen and accuracy of both.

Three years ago under somewhat similar circumstances I advised you that you should bring any questioned advertising to my attention.

I told you then - and I now repeat - it is difficult for me to imagine any occasion when I would refuse to publish honest advertising in good taste submitted by you.

My personal best wishes.

Charles L. Gould  
Publisher, S.F. Examiner

Eds. note: Our associate editor came in July to the advertising office of the SF printing Co. with our five column ad, a blank check and full authorization to make it out for the total insertion cost for both The Examiner and Chronicle.

The ad was a copy of a recent column by Nicholas Von Hoffman, a regular Chronicle Columnist, that had sharply criticized The Examiner and Chronicle and their "failing news-

paper act." The act had just passed the Congress and was due to be signed into law any day by President Nixon. The Chronicle had refused to run this column. We wanted to run it as an ad as soon as possible - before the law went into effect and made The Examiner/Chronicle a legal newspaper monopoly.

Our editor expected to be treated as a \$2,400 cash customer. Instead, she was treated as if she was submitting one of those "pornographic" movie ads. She also got a little lecture on the rights of publishers to refuse ads without explanation or reason and a big statement on The Examiner/Chronicle as a non-monopoly. ("There are lots of places you can go to advertise... why, you can go right across the street here and put it in the Shopping news, which comes out two or three times a week. Or you can put it in the Chinese Weekly.")

After much consultation in the back room, the ad man informed our editor that the Printing Co. would need written permission from Von Hoffman and his Washington Post syndicate.

We hadn't anticipated this problem -- since The Chronicle has syndicated rights on Von Hoffman. Our editor agreed to obtain this permission. She asked only that, before we went to the time and expense to get permission in Washington, the Printing Co. get approval for the advertisement -- or at least an indication from the Ex/Chron publishers as to whether we could run the ad as it stood or, if not, what changes would be necessary.

This request was arbitrarily refused. Why couldn't she get some idea whether the ad would be approved? Another speech on the publisher's rights. It became quite clear to our editor that she was getting the runaround.

To the editor:

I worked with Dick Meister from 1965 through 1968 while I was labor writer for the Detroit Free Press and Knight newspapers. There may be two other people in his field who are as competent as he is, and he can write rings around both of them. It is a harsh judgment on a newspaper with The Chronicle's traditions that they have valued such an able man so slightly as to make life for him unattractive there.

Patrick Owens  
Port Washington, New York  
(Now a columnist for Newsday, the Long Island newspaper.)

Eds Note: As reported in our last issue, Dick Meister was forced to resign this August after seven years as The Chronicle's labor editor, because of the moves by The Chronicle's management which have caused the paper to abandon fair labor coverage.

**Paul Dooms - please  
contact Phil at  
626-6894**

## THE SAN FRANCISCO BAY GUARDIAN

© 1970, The SF Bay Guardian Co., Inc.

"It is a newspaper's duty to print the news, and raise hell."  
(Wilbur F. Storey: Statement of the aims of the Chicago Times, 1861)

Editor and publisher: Bruce B. Brugmann

Managing editor: Roger Henkle

Associate editor: Jean Dibble

Environmental editor: Robert Jones

Poetry editor: Bill Anderson

Urban affairs editor: Chester Hartman

Utilities editor: Peter L. Petrakis

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Art director: Marion Dibble

Paste-up: Dana Sardet, Nancy Senauke, Tom Dutton,

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### CO-OP LOW COST COOKBOOK

Recipes with good nutrition and low cost

1.00 ★

### CO-OP INTERNATIONAL RECIPE SAMPLER

A collection gathered from Cooperatives around the world \$1.75

1.75 ★

### FROM YOUR CO-OP HOME ECONOMIST

80 SELECTED HANDOUT SHEETS most requested by our Co-op shoppers \$1.75

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AVAILABLE AT ALL OUR CENTERS

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London Times  
Chicago Tribune



## PPBS: the corporate mind in the classroom

San Francisco authorities are close to implementing one of the most dangerous educational programs yet devised -- a program which, quite simply, would instill the values and basic methods of corporate society into the schools.

The program stems from use of a new budgeting procedure -- the so-called PPBS system -- which enables school officials to determine the overall cost of particular courses.

No one need quarrel with the budgetary procedure in itself. But the problem is that it is merely a tool -- and the essential tool -- to bring the corporate mind into the classroom.

For along with measuring costs, school officials will be measuring what they get in return for the money spent -- in much the same way as factory managers measure the efficiency of their operations.

They will set up specific "behavioral objectives" in particular fields of study and devise standard tests to measure student progress toward the objectives. Test results will be matched with course costs and officials will decide, on that basis, which programs are or are not "successful" and which should therefore be modified or eliminated.

Such methods may be adequate on the automobile assembly line, but how can they account for the student as a unique individual? How can they measure the creative and humanistic objectives--say the ability to read, write and think -- which are the most important of all educational objectives?

The system, clearly, would force students and teachers into narrow channels where there would be room for only one set of answers. The non-conformist could be forced to conform or be eliminated if he wouldn't teach or learn what would be measured by the tests.

This may be good for General Motors, but it isn't good for education. It ought to be stopped immediately in San Francisco and in other cities across the country where the dangerous program also is being developed.

## Bad business as usual

San Francisco's supervisors are once again deliberating on whether to raise the city's cab fares. But they should be deliberating on whether to issue an unlimited number of taxi permits and bring a whiff of competitive free enterprise to the business.

For it is the artificial shortage of permits which is largely responsible for the fares already being among the country's highest.

The permits -- there are 799 of them in all, including 503 held by Yellow Cab -- currently sell for about \$25,000 each because of their scarcity, and the owners naturally set fares as high as possible.

The scarcity of permits also is a prime reason for San Fran-

cisco's generally miserable cab service. There just aren't enough cabs to go around, quite obviously, and those which are on the streets feel no need to take special efforts to attract customers.

Try and get a cab on a rainy day or on a busy weekend night, or try hailing a cab on the street at anytime. That, and the dollar bills you'll have to hand over should you finally get a cab, should prove to anyone that more permits are needed.

Allowing any qualified person to operate a taxi not only would lower fares and improve service; it also would open as many as 4,000 new jobs for low-skilled people in San Francisco who badly need work.

## Yerba Buena and The deserving rich

The pieces of the \$200 million Yerba Buena redevelopment puzzle finally have fallen into place.

In one splendid week in October, Federal Judge Stanley Wiegel gave the Redevelopment Agency the go-ahead on demolition of old buildings and construction of the new; the agency named Schlesinger-Arcon/Pacific as the joint developer of the all-important central block, and the Board of Supervisors approved the plan to slice off a large chunk of the hotel tax for development of the central block.

This was the coup de grace for another development in the grand San Francisco tradition. As the case study in our April 17 issue showed, Yerba Buena was gerrymandered to benefit adjacent landowners -- the Hearst Corporation, The Chronicle, The Emporium, hotelman Ben Swig, Standard Oil, Pacific Telephone.

It allowed favored companies to buy project land at bargain rates (Crocker Citizens bank, Del Monte Properties).

Its character was quietly changed by downtown interests from minor rehabilitation of a blighted industrial/residential area to a subsidy-bloated, physically out of scale project in a largely non-blighted South of Market section.

Its businesses and about 2,000 elderly and poor residents were cruelly dispossessed.

Now the project continues to roll forward for the benefit of the downtown interests who have pushed it all along.

Consider, for instance, Alfred Schlesinger, one of the developers. He served at various times during the Yerba Buena proceedings as head of the City's Visitors and Convention Bureau, the Downtown Association and the Parking Commission -- and all of these organizations exerted considerable pressure on moulding the project.

Schlesinger and Melvin Swig -- whose father Ben originally proposed Yerba Buena in 1954 -- were the powers in the Mayor's South of Market Development Committee.

With the San Francisco Planning and Urban Renewal Association (SPUR) joining in, the committee in 1964 developed the project plan that, with minor variations, is the one Schlesinger now will help realize.

Schlesinger says his role in the development group is only to manage the public projects in the area -- the theater, exhibit hall, sports arena and airline terminal. Among other things, he also has announced that he wants to find a home there for the Civic Light Opera, of which Schlesinger is president.

It was in this same role that Schlesinger gave a presentation last March to the Redevelopment Agency as an ally of another development group -- the Dillingham Corporation (which since has dropped out of the Yerba Buena Sweepstakes).

Schlesinger was a principal figure in starting the 5 1/2 % hotel tax which is used to finance the Visitors and Convention Bureau and subsidize several cultural organizations and events.

Under the supervisors' new pie-slicing edict, 36% of the tax will go instead for the next 30 years to finance public facilities such as the theater, convention exhibit hall, airline terminal and sports arena in the project area. This amounts to \$720,000 this year and undoubtedly will rise each year.

Schlesinger plans to use the hotel tax funds to back a bond issue to purchase the central blocks area from the Federal Government for \$13 million. The funds also might go to borrow part of the money to construct buildings on the project site.

At best, this scheme is a questionable application of the Supervisors' questionable decision. For the block will include commercial development as well as public buildings.

Schlesinger and the Supervisors are building monuments to themselves and attracting conventioners to fill the coffers of the hotel owners and storekeepers Schlesinger long has represented. And worse: subsidizing the last people in town who need subsidies.

Other members of the development group long have had their fingers in the Yerba Buena Pie. Del Monte Corporation will build and operate a 1,500-room luxury hotel in the center through a subsidiary, Service Systems Inc., acquired in 1968.

Del Monte is building its world headquarters across the street from the hotel it will run on land acquired, in a nifty deal, from Redevelopment at \$12.50 per square foot. The going rate south of Market near the central district is \$55 to \$85 per square foot.

The late Jerd Sullivan, who was on the board of directors of Del Monte Properties, figured prominently in rejuvenating Swig's Yerba Buena plan in 1960 when he served as president of SPUR.

Sullivan was also a director of Swig's Fairmont Hotel and the Crocker-Citizens National Bank. Crocker-Citizens has arranged to build an office building and bank on Yerba Buena property outside the central blocks' area.

Damon Raikes and Lyman Gee are two other leaders of the Pacific combine. Raikes formerly headed a group called Bay Securities and Associates, one of five bidders in 1969 for the central block. Arcon/Pacific first surfaced at the March, 1970 presentation meeting and Raikes led the presentation.

Gee is no newcomer either. He is developing the GE building in the project -- on land acquired, of course, at Redevelopment's bargain rates.

If Gee, Schlesinger, Swig, Raikes, Del Monte and Ex/Chron are happy, so is the Redevelopment Agency. And it doesn't matter much about anybody else.

## Key Assembly votes on conservation 1970 See Senate and key committee votes on page 18

	AB 818 Power Plants Amend.	AB 393 Offshore Drilling	AB 493 Beach Access	AB 2088 River Access	AB 79 Lead In Gas	ACA 38 Rapid Transit
"Good" = FOR the environment						
"Bad" = AGAINST the environment						
Bagley (R) San Rafael	Good	Bad	Good	Good	Good	Good
Bee (D) Hayward	Good	Good	Good	Bad	Good	Good
Belotti (R) Eureka	Bad	Bad	Not Voting	Bad	Good	Bad
Britschgi (R) Redwood City	Bad	Not Voting	Good	Good	Good	Good
Brown (D) SF	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Burton (D) SF	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Chappie (R) Sacramento	Not Voting	Bad	Not Voting	Bad	Good	Bad
Crandall (R) San Jose	Bad	Bad	Good	Bad	Good	Good
Crown (D) Oakland	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Davis (D) Portola	Good	Good	Good	Bad	Good	Bad
Dent (R) Concord	Bad	Bad	Good	Good	Bad	Good
Dunlap (D) Vallejo	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Fong (D) Oakland	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Foran (D) SF	Good	Good	Good	Not Voting	Good	Good
Greene (D) Sacramento	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Johnson (R) Chico	Bad	Bad	Not Voting	Bad	Good	Absent
Knox (D) Richmond	Good	Good	Good	Good	Bad	Good
McCarthy (D) SF	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Milias (R) Los Gatos	Absent	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Miller (D) Oakland	Good	Good	Good	Not Voting	Good	Good
Monagan (R) Stockton	Bad	Bad	Not Voting	Not Voting	Good	Good
Mulford (R) Oakland	Good	Bad	Good	Bad	Good	Good
Murphy (R) Merced	Bad	Not Voting	Good	Bad	Good	Good
Powers (D) Sacramento	Not Voting	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Ryan (D) So. SF	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Bad
Vasconcellos (D) Campbell	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
Z'berg (D) Sacramento	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good	Good
	Killed 30-29	Killed 22-40	Passed to Senate 49-10	Killed 25-31	Passed to Senate 64-5	Passed 54-16



# JACK MORRISON

Let's economize with a \$500,000 boondoggle in the Golden Gate Park

Retrenchment or, more precisely, the appearance of retrenchment, is the byword now in City Hall. Yet consistency is hard to find. Tight-fistedness and slackness dominate by turns.

The other day Supervisors balked at a chance to start building some moderate-income housing on an abandoned site in the teeming Mission District. A go-ahead would have committed them to spend \$700,000 in cash as the City's one-third share.

That was a highly visible decision, and a majority of the legislators struck the proper tax-conscious attitude.

But the Supervisors and the Mayor are ignoring a largely unpublicized boondoggle that bids fair to sluice away \$500,000 of public money and at the same time degrade Golden Gate Park.

## Have power

They have power to squelch the rapidly crystallizing plans to erect a senior citizens' center at the Sixth Avenue entrance to the Park. They could look good in the process.

The elderly don't want it there. Conservationists most assuredly don't want it there. The only people who want it are, presumably, those who will profit from building it, and, perhaps, a small clique in the Recreation and Park Department's high command.

The project makes so little sense that one is inclined to think it resulted from a series of blunders that few now care to acknowledge. The City Attorney certainly goofed, though he has since confessed error, in leading the Park Commissioners at first to believe that, if the center were built at all, it would have to go in the Park.

Some commissioners are uncomfortable with their decision. But it looks as if only intervention from City Hall could prevent the bureaucracy from moving in lock step to disaster.

## The money

The \$500,000 came from LeRoy Vane, a Cole Street cab-

inet maker, who used to cycle in the Park. He willed all his money to the Rec-Park Commission to establish a senior citizens' center, "preferably in the area of the Conservatory in Golden Gate Park."

There was no such center when Vane made out his will in 1956 but in June of 1965, seven months before Vane died in Redding, the Commission opened the Golden Gate Park Senior Center in the old Police Academy building at Fulton Street and 37th Avenue.

It is an imposing, well-proportioned building, and of course it takes a big slice out of the Park. It is still operated successfully for the old people. About half its floor space, though, is given over to storage for worn out odds and ends of Rec-Park property. Rehabilitation, architects estimate, could triple its service capacity.

Someone in Rec-Park, it is obvious, wants to get his hands on the Police Academy building and convert it to some other use. What the alternative use would be has never been made clear.

## Shorenstein again

The scheme to go ahead with new construction in the Park, instead of devising a rational plan for carrying out Vane's intent, was steered through the Commission in August of 1969 by Walter H. Shorenstein, then Commission president.

Only two Commissioners voted against the boondoggle, George Choppelas and Frances McAteer. Choppelas suggested with a good deal of logic that the Commission spend \$200,000 of the Vane money to rehabilitate the Academy building, that it continue as a senior center and that the remaining \$300,000 go toward establishing other centers in the Downtown, Chinatown and Mission regions where these facilities for the elderly are especially needed.

Mrs. McAteer expressed deep concern about damage to the

Park at Sixth Avenue, and her forebodings have never been satisfactorily answered.

The plan is to close Sixth to traffic and situate the center on the roadway between Fulton and John F. Kennedy Drive.

There is a remote hope the City will be saved from itself by the courts, which more and more these days are called upon to solve problems that politicians refuse to face.

A 64-year-old San Francisco geologist, Ward Denman, has the case before the California Court of Appeals. He is asking the appellate body to order a trial on his suit to invalidate the Rec-Park decision. His attorney, Jack Siedman, argues that a Sixth Avenue center would be "a waste of public funds."

"This court might easily take note of the fact that the fiscal demands placed upon the budget of San Francisco far exceed funds actually available," Siedman's brief says. "Therefore, it is vital that the funds which are available be used to produce maximum services in areas where they are most needed."

Denman's action was thrown out of trial court last March by Superior Court Judge Byron Arnold, who decided the Rec-Park Commission had not abused its discretion in voting to build at Sixth Avenue.

If the courts can help, it will be welcome news. But the issue is really one of public policy that ought to be decided in the political sphere. And in that sphere San Francisco must stop depending on the art of mud-dling through.

The Mission District needs housing. The elderly need service centers. The Park needs to be protected from the disruption of more buildings.

A City Hall interested in true economy, in the costs and benefits of its policies, would find a way to harmonize these demands.



# Women's Place by Julia Cheever

Women like Angela Davis and Shellie Bursey - the reporter who was jailed for refusing to testify against the Black Panthers - are evoking a new image of women in prison: the image of women as political prisoners.

These two women are not at all typical of women in prison. Most women are imprisoned for offenses like prostitution, shoplifting and false check-writing. But, according to a committee of San Francisco and Berkeley women's liberation members that has analyzed women's crimes, "ALL women in jail are political prisoners."

Their crimes are the result of their oppression as women in society, argues the group.

A list of the most frequent women's crimes (based on FBI statistics on nationwide arrests in 1968) reveals the economic and psychological oppression of women:

1. Drunkenness and drug addiction--13.7% and 3.3% of women arrested. The women's committee feels "Society encourages women to become addicts of every kind, to deny themselves the kind of vitality that would make them demand real lives."

2. Larceny (which includes shoplifting, purse snatching, domestic pilferage) -- 15.6%. These crimes are committed mainly by poor women. In addition, a surprising number of middle class women are impelled by the consumer mentality and their secondary economic status to steal.

3. Prostitution -- 4.6%. One prostitute explained her career: "What do you expect me to do? I've got a two-year-old child to support and I can't do that on the \$50 a week I used to take home as a waitress." "The law bears very heavily on women in the field of prostitution," says UC criminology professor Richard Korn; the male client is "almost never arrested" and "the majority of arrests are on the basis of police entrapment." An ex-prostitute feminist writes, "All the prostitute has done is eliminate the bullshit."

4. Runaways--10%. Girls run away because they are overly protected and restricted by their families, explains the women's committee, and they get arrested because the "qualities inculcated in them for their future roles as wives and mothers--dependence, passivity and self denial"--leave them unable to fend for themselves.

5. Murder -- 2% of all women arrested but 15.2% of female felons imprisoned in California. (Dr. Carol Spencer of the State Department of Corrections explains, "The courts have to send women to prison for homicide; they're reluctant to send them otherwise.") Women's murder victims are usually their husbands, lovers or children. "These murders are usually not premeditated, but explode out of the desperation that comes from monotonous, repetitive, physically and emotionally exhausting work," says the women's committee. Most murders committed by women take place in the home, usually during a domestic quarrel in the kitchen.



The behavior of women in prison is markedly different from men's and, like their crimes, reflects their situation in the outside world. Female prisoners tend to form one-to-one relationships with each other that closely resemble the relationships they had with husbands and lovers in the outside world.

Unlike men who adhere to a strict inmate code forbidding "ratting," a high proportion of women tell on each other (50 to 90%, according to two UCLA professors who studied the state women's prison at Frontera.) Prison routine encourages passivity and a childlike dependence on the guards.

One woman said, "The only way you can receive any 'privileges' is by playing the sick mother-child relationship the guards dig so much." A Frontera inmate said, "You are constantly addressed as though you were either a mental case or a child--most of the staff here formerly worked in mental institutions or taught school."

The two professors who studied Frontera concluded that the most important way women adapted to the frustration and isolation of prison life was through homosexuality. They reported that 50-75% of the women had at least one homosexual affair. (Another study of a women's penitentiary in West Virginia estimates 80%).

These figures are far higher than for men's prison homosexuality --40%--and also the reverse of figures Kinsey reported for the free world (19% for women and 37% for men). Also unlike those in the outside world, most prison lesbians adopted the female role. Most planned to return to heterosexual relationships after prison; 90% had their first homosexual affair in prison.

On the whole, women in jail and prison appear to be treated no worse than men--except for the deprivation of their children. If the court decides an inmate's children are not well cared for it can take custody. A study of mothers at Frontera found that 65% of the inmates were mothers, with an average of 2.4 children each; 20% of these children had been put in the care of agencies.

Even when relatives and friends took the children, frantic mothers often waited for weeks before they heard their whereabouts. Half the children had never been taken to see their mothers. (The nearest busstop is 12 miles from Frontera.) Babies born to prison or jail inmates are taken from their mothers within 10 days.



A demonstration for all prisoners--organized entirely by women--will be held at 1 pm on Dec. 12 across from the Alameda County Courthouse at Lake Merritt. Tired of male "ego-tripping movement heavies" who make "flamboyant vows" at demonstrations but never accomplish anything, the women planners will use the demonstration to organize specific projects--including bussing families to prisoners, dealing with the problem of children of imprisoned mothers, and raising money to free women whose bail is only \$50 or \$75.



# KENNETH REXROTH

Remember the word 'Comrade'?

We live in an age of counter revolution by television. Social protest becomes widely negotiable only when it can be stamped with the face and signature of an hallucination publicitaire.

For one person who heard of Mario Savio and Bettina Aptheker in the days of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement, 10,000 or more have seen the vicious and silly antics of Jerry Rubin television.

The taxpayers are saving a lot of money. The police, the industrial insurance companies and the business associations no longer have to hire agents provocateurs. They are secreted by the mass culture as a dying cell secretes an enzyme that destroys it, and they are so much more efficient than the old time stool pigeon.

If you require proof, look about you. We have come through a decade of colonial revolution and social and moral breakdown in the metropolises. We are now entering it with no efficiently functioning organizations whatsoever.

All the organizations of the New Left are in chaos, many of them are dead, and the Old Left has nothing to offer. This is not only true of the Left; the Republicans, the Tories, the Christian Democrats are all in an organizational crisis, and the Democratic Party -- well, you live in California -- what an ignoble ruin!

## Geraldine Rubin?

During the past year Women's Liberation, which has been around for a long time, suddenly acquired an image and became the talk of the town. The Media had discovered some Geraldine Rubins to feed into the tube, and Woman became a Hot Commodity.

What this means is that the struggle for sexual equality was carefully matched with the image of the suffragette in the pigmy brains of the lower echelons of Playboy readers.

The amusing thing is that Hugh Hefner or the magazine's Brain Trust seem to have a saner and more effective idea of what a revolution for sexual

equality should be than do the women they interview or the jockstraps who accept the latter as feminists.

The debauching of women's liberation is of the greatest significance, freedom and equality of women is the measure of the health and even the economic efficiency of a modern, as of a primitive, society. The subjection of woman is another term for the primitive accumulation that has characterized most societies since the Neolithic. This is why, incidentally, women have always been comparatively free in the highest and lowest strata, especially of urban society.

The lumpen proletariat and the Beautiful People of the court of Louis XV or Aristotle Onassis are past or are outside the accumulative process. They don't need to be anal retentive.

Since a revolutionary struggle is meaningful only insofar as it is building a new society within the womb of the old, the sexual equality in a revolutionary movement is an accurate

Continued on Page 24



## SACRAMENTO

Not much hope for conservation this year

## By our correspondent

(This column will be written regularly by a reporter in Sacramento who covers state politics.)

SACRAMENTO--Last year, in a flurry of highly-publicized action, more than 300 conservation-oriented bills were introduced in the State Legislature by representatives anxious to cash in on California's newest political glamor issue.

But few of the bills actually got passed and even fewer may make it through in 1971.

In fact, outside of a few optimistic organizations such as the Planning and Conservation League and a few optimistic legislators like Assemblyman Edwin L. Z'berg (D - Sacramento) the betting is that nothing will be done this year and California's water and atmosphere will continue to decline in quality.

There are four major reasons for this and there is not one reason to expect them to change:

1. Governor Reagan will face a major tax increase, even though he has said he would resist it, in this year's legislative session. Ramming that through will take a tremendous amount of time and political wheeling and dealing. Reagan will make every legislator

justify every bill that will cost the state money, says an aide in the office of Sen. Nicholas D. Petris (D - Oakland.) And cleaning up the environment is going to cost a great deal.

2. Legislators will be preoccupied with reapportionment, the decennial redistricting of legislative boundaries. It promises to be an anguish-laden issue--particularly for San Francisco, where four assemblymen will be playing musical chairs over three seats. One will have to go.

3. It's an off year for elections and California's legislators, who didn't feel an overwhelming obligation to vote for issues in the public good last year when the whip and spur of the ballot were present, probably will feel even less inclined to act in 1971.

4. The lobbies whose money killed prop. 18, the "Clean Air" measure, in the November election, will be gunning for the legislation that will cost them money. And most environmental legislation falls into that category.

## Some hope

There are a few hopeful signs, however. The public still is concerned about the air it breathes and the water it drinks,

and legislators, especially ones like Petris and Z'berg who have acquired reputations as environmentally sensitive, continue to receive supporting mail.

Also, says Z'berg, the Democratic majorities in both houses will be out to embarrass the governor if possible, and environmental legislation could provide that embarrassment.

## Assembly tough

Z'berg says, too, that conservationist groups are more sophisticated than they were last year. The Planning and Conservation League published a "bird-watcher report" last year, a 17-page examination of the voting records of legislators on conservation bills. That will be out again and knowledge that they are being watched may force some legislators to vote differently in committee.

Also hopeful is the election of conservation-oriented James R. Mills (D - San Diego) to replace Sen. Jack Schrade, a man long identified with special interests, as Senate President Pro Tem -- if Mills can hold the job.

On the Assembly side, it looks tough. Assemblyman Robert Moretti is speaker, and he's a protégé of Jess Unruh who has close ties to powerful lobbyists. His rumored com-

mittee appointments makes it look black for the environmentalists.

The Birdwatchers, however, will be watching closely. A creation of the Planning and Conservation League, the organization sent two observers to every committee where conservationist legislation was being acted upon last year. They covered more than 150 committee meeting and uncovered disaster.

Of the 300 bills introduced, about 50 were deemed highly important, and of those 14 were considered "vital to California's health and welfare."

Of them, five reached the Senate floor, seven reached the Assembly floor. Of them, two passed. Most died in committee, including the Petris bill to ban smog-producing vehicles, which passed the senate for the second year in a row, but died in the Assembly Transportation Committee.

Another important measure, calling for State control over coastline development, was sent to interim study by the Senate Governmental Organization Committee.

Despite the fact major automakers and oil companies had promised the State Air Resources Board they would remove lead from gasoline, and produce cars that would run without lead, a bill to reduce lead to two grams a gallon by 1974

and eliminate it by 1977 was killed by Assembly Transportation through lobbying by major gasoline and oil companies.

## Power plants

A bill to prohibit construction of power plants in public parks went down to defeat in the Assembly through lobbying by both public and private power companies.

The controversial Southern Bay crossing gained new life after a bill to delay its construction pending further study also died in Assembly Transportation Committee. (Major behind-the-scenes-lobbyist: Utah Construction, which plans to anchor the eastern end on Alameda with a big development. It would also like to be the contractor for the crossing.)

Lance Olson, an administrative aide, says the organization will push for legislation this year in four areas -- air pollution, open space, coastline preservation and the so-called "Michigan bill" which will allow citizens to sue companies and clean up the environment.

But, says Petris' aide:

"If we didn't get it last year, there's nothing to be done this year. Anything we do is going to cost money and we can't make it. The cookie jars are all dipped out."

## WASHINGTON

California rebels lose in the house

## By Tiffin Patrick

WASHINGTON--Rebellious California Democratic congressmen have been rebuffed in their efforts to overturn the seniority system within the state delegation and win posts on important committees for younger, anti-war members of the House.

Three resolutions by Rep. Jerome Waldie of Antioch aimed at the seniority system and related practices were unceremoniously tabled this week while Waldie was traveling in Korea on behalf of the House Judiciary Committee.

The action, which occurred in a closed caucus dominated by parliamentary confusion, was another in a long list of triumphs for the stand-pat, status-quo leadership of the House, which is increasingly suspicious of younger members who want an open Congress.

There are good reasons for the suspicions, for the young liberals who beefed up an important House reform bill earlier this year are anticipating further victories in the coming Congress.

But while the House old guard lost its fight to prevent the reform amendment -- requiring recorded votes on the floor on controversial issues (a change that will make it easier for anti-war groups and others to identify those who talk one way and vote another) -- the old leadership still controls the major committees, which are the key to Congress.

Consider, for instance, the 51-member House Appropriations Committee where California representatives traditionally hold four seats.

One of the four Californians

who was defeated in the Democratic primary this year by Rep. -elect Ron Dellums. So members of the California delegation have been trying to find a replacement.

Rep. Phillip Burton of San Francisco, who was first elected in 1965, wanted the job. But he withdrew in favor of Rep. Robert Leggett of Vallejo, a Democrat who has equalled Burton in his opposition to the war.

Meanwhile, Chet Holifield of Montebello, dean of the delegation, prodded Rep. Ed Roybal of Los Angeles to express interest in the job. (Roybal, like Leggett, was elected in 1962, and Holifield, to substantiate his belief Roybal was entitled to the post on a seniority basis, decided that the two Democratic posts should also be divided between Northern and Southern California.)

Then Waldie moved in behalf of his candidate -- Rep. Thomas Rees of Los Angeles -- by introducing resolutions that would dispense with both seniority and regional considerations in filling California vacancies. (He also introduced a resolution to choose the spokesman for the caucus by vote rather than seniority.)

The Waldie resolutions and the persistence of Leggett in seeking the Appropriations assignment provoked a rare show of displeasure from the normally genial Holifield, a House member since 1942.

In a long letter to Leggett not intended for public use, Holifield cited the first commandment of Congress: "To get along, go along," a homily he attributed to the late Sam Rayburn.

on the Committee now is Rep. Jeffrey Cohelan of Berkeley.

While noting he knew of the drawbacks of seniority, Holifield declared:

"It's the only game in town and if we want to play in the game, we have to play according to the rules."

The week after the election, a parliamentary trap allowed Waldie's resolutions to be brought up in Waldie's absence. They were tabled and Rep. James Corman of Van Nuys, who will carry the "sense of the California delegation" to the committee that will fill the Appropriations Committee vacancy announced he would endorse the old guard's candidate, Roybal, for the post.

Cohelan, a valuable member of the committee, was then persuaded to give Corman his undated resignation and the appointment of Roybal, while still not acted upon formally, became a certainty.

The action is not terribly significant ideologically, since all of the contestants for the post represent much the same point of view. But it was a dramatic illustration of the power of a handful of men to dominate the House.



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# James Ridgeway

*'The new populism will embody and develop the politics of Ralph Nader'*

WASHINGTON--In all likelihood there will be a serious drive to create a Populist wing within the Democratic Party before the 1972 election. The idea, which originates with young northern liberals, is to stitch together a political apparatus which can embody and develop the politics of Ralph Nader.

Nader himself in the past has shied clear of formal politics, but many of the younger lawyers and technicians he has attracted are anxious for political power. Within the past two years, this network of consumer protectionists, environmental experts, automotive engineers, doctors, college students, etc., has created a jury-rigged political organization with national and regional bases. And in recent months northern liberals, former Kennedy and McCarthy backers, have come out of their sulk and want to climb aboard the Nader bandwagon.

The main argument for the new populism is simply that the movement exists and should be captured. Agnew tried and apparently failed. Nader, on the other hand, has largely succeeded in defining a fresh political consciousness for masses of Americans by simply instructing them in the horrors of the multi-national corporation.

Nader, not Nixon, defined the politics of middle America, and

it was an irony that Agnew only approached success when he poached on Nader's politics. Through legal attacks Nader demonstrated how corporations screw consumers, how they create and further environmental pollution, how they unite with corrupt unions in oppressing workers.

## No reforms

He even has demonstrated, so the argument goes, that reforms don't work, by pushing for reform legislation, then attacking the reforms as ineffective. His attacks, which until recently took the form of suits, press conferences or Congressional testimony, now are building into grass roots movements.

One such movement is aimed at creating shareholder democracy at General Motors; in the end it aims to turn over the largest corporation in the world to a directorate of workers and consumers.

Another movement is aimed at creating regional groups to work on environmental issues, consumer protection, and to figure out ways to attack local corporations. The local groups embrace college students in Oregon and blue collar Wallaceites in Chicago.

Various aspects of the new populism make it attractive to practical politicians within the Democratic Party. It offers a coherent politics tied directly to economic policy. It deals with the war and blacks as

secondary issues which must unfold as part of the overall struggle against the corporation.

## Pro-nationalist

The new populism could develop a strong pro-nationalist tendency, especially as the multi-national corporations move their operations further away from the American mainland, making their deals with the so-called "revolutionary" third world countries.

Those arrangements, for inexpensive labor and raw materials, will result in more lost jobs for U.S. workers. In effect, this tendency will fuel a populist attack on international capitalism.

James Ridgeway, former associate editor of the New Republic and editor of Hard Times, is the author of "The Closed Corporation." He will write regularly for The Guardian from Washington.

The rhetoric of the new populism is important too. Tom Hayden talks about "imperialism," the women's liberation about "male chauvinism," Charles Reich about levels of "consciousness" and the "corporate state." Nader talks about Adam Smith and bringing "criminals" to justice.

New populists maintain a certain nostalgia for Huey Long, whom they regard as a genuine American radical who went off the deep end. Their hero is Wright Patman. They think Harold Hughes might make a Presidential candidate, but probably would prefer Ramsey Clark. And, of course, there is considerable talk of Nader himself.

Richard Ottinger, the unsuccessful New York Democratic Senatorial candidate, recently

embraced Nader and populism (which means it will be chic.) Sam Brown, the former McCarthy leader, is a new populist.

Even Senator Muskie thinks enough of the business to have taken a crack at banks in his election eve sermon. Geoffrey Cowan, a young Washington attorney, who works on Campaign GM and thought up the idea of the Muskie speech, believes the populist wing will inevitably take shape.

## Southern strategy

The major populariser for populism is Kevin Phillips, who encouraged the Republicans to grab for the movement with the southern strategy.

There are fundamental problems in transferring Nader's politics into the politics of the Democratic Party, especially into a politics shaped by northern liberals.

Many of the younger attorneys who are now calling themselves populists are graduates of Harvard and Yale, come from monied families and do their good works on funds supplied by Ford, Carnegie, Rockefeller and department store foundations.

They represent in their work the very forces Patman, for instance, has fought so long to overthrow. By taking money from foundations, they have strengthened the hand of the northern corporate liberals who use the device of tax-exempt foundations to maintain and increase their political base.

## Anti-intellectual

Moreover, the young lawyers and technicians tend to be intellectuals, and populism, even in its new renderings, is decidedly anti-intellectual.

Put in more concrete terms, the consumer and environmental "reforms" of the last few years sometimes appear to be tokens; their major effect being

to ease the conscience and persuade people the system works.

A horrid example is the recent mine safety law. More miners have died since the passage of that law than before. Reports indicate that the terrible mine dust which causes black lung is thicker than ever.

Nor have the packaging reform laws of the last few years stopped the distortions in package advertising. The campaign to make autos safer does not appear to have reduced automobile fatalities; it has provided manufacturers with an excuse to raise prices.

## Not clear

And it's not clear whether northern liberals have thought through their new populist position very well.

The most recent populist coalition was put together on the House floor by Patman against bank holding companies. It included Southern Democrats, right wing Republicans who hate the Eastern bankers, members who bent beneath the lobby of insurance agents led by Nixon's old law firm, and some liberal stalwarts. The pro-bank gang in the Senate included northern liberal corporate tools such as Williams of New Jersey, Brooke of Massachusetts, Cranston of California. Even Esther Peterson, LBJ's consumer advisor, showed up to attack Patman in behalf of a union-owned bank.

Critics of the new populism argue that it will soon become a guise behind which elitist lawyers seek to build ersatz movements to strengthen their own position as the technicians who work out accommodations with large corporations.

While Nader has stayed clear of organized politics in the past, the future of his sort of politics now really depends on how he handles the political agents who are beginning to seek to capture his operation. ♦

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## REXROTH

Continued from Page 22

measure today of just how revolutionary it is.

Therefore, the appalling, masochistic self subjection of women amongst hippies and Yuppies reveals that these people are a sickness of the ruling class, not a new revolutionary class. There is no essential difference except physical filth between the country club, Venice Biennale, horse show, musical beds set, with their uppers to get up and their downers to lie down and their alcohol to turn on and their nicotine to commit suicide and their sons and daughters playing voluntary poverty.

The economic crisis we are running into is going to be a different thing than the 1929-39 one. The vulgar economists called that one a crisis of over production and under consumption.

To this one will be added the exhaustion of the economic environment, most especially in the metropolises, and the irreparable destruction of the environment everywhere.

As Republicans go, Herbert Hoover was a man of brains. We are now in the strangle hold of the militantly mindless. We cannot counter our Greek Colonel with Jerry Rubin; they're just Mike and Ike; ham and eggs.

There is ample evidence that any move toward a sane and healthy society will be overwhelmed with stool pigeons and provocateurs. If the C.I.A. can overthrow Sihanouk, even J. Edgar Hoover can disrupt S.D.S.

We face a decade that calls for ruthless organization, discipline, stamina and the construction of a movement which will be a genuine counter culture, an alternative society for people who want to be adults living at their fullest potentials, not for people arrested at pre-adolescence who just don't want to wash the dishes and who want lots of free Alice B. Toklas candy bars.

One measure of the kind of alternative society that can win over the long reach of history is the genuine equality of man and woman, white and black, united and free.

Remember the word "Comrade?" ♦



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# LABOR POWER

Continued from Page 3

clean up the slum housing which is inflicted on the minority people who remain behind.

A Chamber spokesman cites, for instance, the Board of Supervisors' recent refusal to reject union demands to retain requirements to use metallic rather than non-metallic sheeted cable. He says that alone needlessly adds \$300 to \$400 to the price of a San Francisco house.

Unions, he concludes, "have hurt the physical plan of the city through their pressures in City Hall."

Similar complaints are voiced against the Chamber itself as well as against unions by those having ecological concerns, especially planners and other professional people.

But though their attacks on unions for not fully sharing their new concern for "the quality of life" may be commendable, some weaken their effectiveness, arouse legitimate suspicions as to their motives and prompt wasteful opposition by maintaining an elitist posture on unions and union concerns.

Some are considered downright snobbish by union supporters, and others are looked on as paternalistic at best. This includes clothes manufacturer Alvin Duskin who, while waging ecological crusades, is attacked by unions for at the same time helping convince his employees to vote down unionization in favor of a system in which he unilaterally grants them something approaching what unionized workers elsewhere have won by their own efforts.

Many of these critics are well off financially and many are self-employed and do not really understand unionization. In their security, they do not feel the need for collective economic action on which others must rely for security and the chance to act with dignity and independence vis-a-vis the employer. Nor do their financial circumstances compel them to be primarily job-oriented.

Other critics may feel a need to include the community's serious employment problems among their concerns. But even they have given slight attention to the problems, because of the failure of labor leaders generally to take their ecological concerns into very serious account.

Thus, most of those who are concerned primarily with enhancing the environment tend to consider organized labor as the enemy -- a collection of hard hats who, as one critic complains, "would sell their own mothers for a job."

## Labor response

Labor responds in kind. "Some of those guys," a union officer observes, "wouldn't know a worker if he bit them."

"Eight-hundred guys sitting in our hiring hall waiting for work... a lot of them black... and the conservationists are screaming about the U.S. Steel project blocking the view. View? How many working people have a view? That project means jobs -- and that's what counts."

The basic conflict apparent in those remarks is probably the most serious currently raging in City Hall, and there are few signs that it will ease.

Labor will continue to exert extraordinary pressure for new

building projects of whatever sort -- if only because of steadily worsening conditions which already have put 15 to 20 per cent of the city's skilled construction workers on the unemployment rolls and about twice that percentage of the city's unskilled workers, most of them from minority groups.

## No compromise

Thanks to Alioto's support, unions have an advantage over the "conservationists." They are showing no more willingness than them to make the compromises that might result in projects that would meet the main demands of both and the broad needs of the entire city.

Other complaints about labor's influence are raised by black newspaper publisher Carlton Goodlett and some other prominent men in the minority community.



Harry Bridges  
ILWU President

Their big concern is that the ILWU has been given almost official standing as chief spokesman for black San Franciscans, since all but a very few of the black people appointed by Alioto are from the ILWU.

"There are 106,000 black people in the community," notes Dr. Goodlett. "The ILWU alone didn't elect the mayor."

Dr. Goodlett and the others complain that the ILWU has joined the Laborers, another union with a high minority membership, to muffle minority voices which are pressing for more than the unions will seek. They complain that the unions are going easy for fear of hurting their ally in the mayor's office and perhaps losing their standing there.

## 'Weak Voice'

The ILWU once was looked on as the champion of the minority community and of the poor generally -- as their "strong voice of dissent" against police harassment and other assaults by the representatives of city government, notes Dr. Goodlett.

But now? "No one ever turns to the ILWU. They're on the mayor's team; they're taking care of union interests only."

Dr. Goodlett's assertion must be considered in the context of his own desires to be a chief spokesman and his struggle with some ILWU leaders on that score.

But to some degree, at least, he is correct. ILWU members still adopt the proper militant resolutions but, in public anyway, ILWU representatives aren't flexing their militant muscles quite like they used to flex them.

For ILWU representatives, who previously stood outside City Hall taking marxist potshots, have gone inside eagerly to join a mayor who is, as

one representative notes, "essentially a conservative -- a constitutionalist who won't support that right-wing law and order garbage, but a conservative nevertheless."

The ILWU leaders seem convinced, however, that their move into City Hall and the related actions of other unions have resulted in community gains that otherwise would have been impossible.

To some labor observers the simple fact that it has meant more labor influence is enough, especially since much of that influence has gone to the ILWU.

True, some union appointees to city bodies are not exactly credits to the community. But neither are some of the appointees from other quarters.

## Middle-class

It's true, too, that labor is controlled largely by leaders and union members who are strongly influenced by white middle-class concerns that tell them to worry first about themselves and not to seriously challenge a system which has given them at least temporary security and at least the appearance of upward mobility.

But the facts also are that labor nevertheless is a more progressive force generally than business or any other force which would be able, under present circumstances, to wield the influence which has gone to labor -- and that the ILWU is by far the most progressive force within labor.

Whether the ILWU can -- or will -- put together a united front of unions is debatable. But some of its representatives are trying and, although this means compromises between the ILWU and the construction unions on the other end of labor's political spectrum, it could help forge a more progressive labor movement generally in the city.

Some observers look no further for their approval of labor's political moves than the fact that it has meant more City Hall favors for unions. For most San Franciscans work for a living, and whatever is granted to union members invariably spreads to all working people.

## Louder voice

Others look deeper. They see it as a move which has given a louder City Hall voice to neglected elements of the community, and which has turned unions toward new outward directions and toward important internal reforms which also will help the general community.

"Look, before we came in, who were the black people that were appointed?" asks an ILWU officer. "Middle-class blacks, all of them, guys like (supervisor) Terry Francois. We brought in black labor and the black poor."

He concedes that there has been less representation of other minority groups. But he claims, with some justification, that efforts are under way to improve this.

Perhaps the most important development has been that the unions, because of their representation on all policy-making bodies, are seeing all of the city's major problems clearly for the first time and must work with other community representatives to try to settle them.

This has led to the prospect of important new political alliances. The unions previously were content to be represented only on job-oriented bodies, working largely through the Democratic Party and under Italian

The San Francisco Bay Guardian December 23, 1970 page 25

and Irish-Catholic leadership and relying almost solely on blue-collar workers of the same ethnic strains for support.

But their new positions in City Hall have caused union leaders to begin turning toward minority groups and their community organizations and to white-collar workers, just as have the changes in the nature of San Francisco's population and work force.

This has confronted the unions with important new pressures, some pressed on them directly by white-collar interests and minority organizations and others pressed by and through Mayor Alioto, who also needs white-collar and minority support.

## ILWU exception

The results have been painfully slow in coming -- but they have come, like the steps toward racially integrating construction unions. The steps have been halting and often extremely reluctant -- but they have been taken. There even are some black plumbers in San Francisco now -- and that is unheard-of progress.

Unions generally have not felt the direct pressures of young activists, however, and have done nothing much more than raise the standard middle-class concerns about them.

One exception has been the ILWU, which has been chal-

lenged on its home grounds. It has pressed its strong commitment to integration against young black militants who have been bringing other messages to minority neighborhoods where many ILWU members live.

There may be some internal challenges as union ranks are swelled by younger members. But the older men who run the unions expect to retain control through the sophisticated system that has promoted unusually peaceful labor-management relations in the city by requiring would-be strikers -- and that includes would-be rebels -- to get official sanction and mediation help from the Labor Council.

Labor's more enthusiastic supporters see the union chiefs eventually responding positively to the energetic idealism of the young.

Far beyond that, they see the new developments in City Hall leading to a grand new coalition that would join labor and the city's other generally progressive forces in a truly rational and cooperative movement to actually solve San Francisco's problems.

But even they will admit that, until this Utopia arrives, there will continue to be severe conflicts over priorities.

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Don't just save a Victorian house-

## Save Victorian Neighborhoods

by Frederic Stout

The San Francisco Bay Area, once world-famous for the richness and profusion of its Victorian architecture, is presently undergoing an architectural nervous breakdown.

In the face of this crisis, books on local architecture should do more than catalog treasures. They should encourage outrage at the radical transformation now in progress and should suggest realistic programs by which whole neighborhoods of Victorian houses could be saved from the bulldozers.

Unfortunately, such books as Elinor Richey's "The Ultimate Victorians" (just published by Howell-North Books of Berkeley) and the Junior League's coyly titled "Here Today: San Francisco's Architectural Heritage" fail to confront this challenge squarely.

Both books are marvelous guides for those who regard the eccentric mock-dignity of Victorian architecture as one of the great cultural experiences of the Bay Area. But, read in the context of a wholesale re-ordering of the area's environmental values, "Here Today" and "The Ultimate Victorians" are little more than irrelevant exercises in nostalgia.

### Misconceptions

The books misconceive the essential nature of architecture, regarding it as the study of ornamental exteriors as objects of visual beauty. Neither book so

much as hints that architecture as an aesthetic study may have something to do with housing as a social issue.

The books also are flawed by a bias, particularly evident in the Junior League effort, in favor of the homes of the very rich. For every house in the Mission there seems to be ten in Pacific Heights.

The point that this reality-twisting snobbery misses is that the modest Victorian row house or duplex, not the Pacific Avenue wedding cake, is by far and away the commonest and most distinctly "Victorian" of all the many styles that qualify under that inexact rubric.

### The rows

All over the city, rows of two- and three-story buildings, conforming gracefully to the hills, provide workable housing for all kinds of people. Today, these neighborhoods are under the gun of redevelopment. While downtown and South of Market the vertical pentagons of the supercorporations obscure the hills and block the Bay, huge chunks of the Western Addition-Japantown-Fillmore district have been destroyed as Victorian residential neighborhoods.

The city's ruling forces have sent in bulldozers to demolish unsafe housing that they themselves have largely allowed to become unsafe through a cynical lack of code enforcement. Out of the scorched earth arise not houses but jerry-built, box-like "housing units" into which

families are herded like cattle.

In any case, few former residents can afford the new housing. In one redevelopment area in the Western Addition, only three families (two doctors and an attorney) out of some 3,000 displaced were able to move back into the neighborhood. In return for the destruction of their neighborhood the people received two dubious rewards - a dull and commercially unsuccessful Japanese cultural center and a concrete cathedral, a monument to pride and irrelevancy twice as big as Chartres, but which no hand loved in the making.

### Poor imagination

Why is there such a poverty of imagination? New architectural forms could be created that draw inspiration from the human-oriented principles of Victorian design. Publically financed remodeling programs (combined with a strict rent control ordinance) could conceivably employ as many construction workers as any high-rise development while at the same time saving the Victorian neighborhoods for the residents.

But the destruction of the Western Addition continues, and the Haight-Ashbury will very likely be next. Already, a Mayor's Committee entertains the notion that the average Haight resident should have an income of from \$1600 to 2000 per month, thereby making the phoney "chic" of Union Street the model for the area's future.

After the Haight, what? The Mission? Potrero Hill? Unless the trend is reversed, San Francisco will soon be an architectural mish-mash, one part dull to one part plastic.



## Introducing the Guardian Puzzle Contest



Is there a sequel to Pacific Graft & Extortion?

By Lester Schonbrun

The Guardian's first puzzle contest is inspired by a woman we know who makes out her utility checks to Pacific Graft & Extortion. Her appliances are still humming so we assume her checks are accepted without murmur.

We looked around and also found a couple of local outfits called Soak the Poor to Underwrite the Rich and Miserable Utility Nearly Insolvent. Help us expand this roster of initial-fillers.

For the best submission, we offer a lustrous, handcrafted ceramic trophy by Ann Christenson, a local potter. Second, third and fourth prizes will get a free one-year Guardian subscription.

Additionally, we are offering free one-year Guardian subscriptions for the earliest postmarked solutions to the following problems:

1. LIMER-GRAM -- The three 7 letter words omitted from the limerick below are anagrams of one another, i.e. they are all different but contain exactly the same letters. For example: GRENADE, ANGERED, ENRAGED.

An imbibor of ----- exterior  
Thought ----- hard liquor inferior  
'Til he sipped some one day  
And flew back to L.A.  
The ----- he'd been to deliria

2. TEASER -- Suggest a way for three people, all greedy, to divide a container of ice cream so that each is content with his share. They are equipped with only a spoon.

3. ANAGRAMS -- Combine each six letter word with the single letter and rearrange them to form a new word. For example: ORATES & C equals COASTER.

- a. ORATES & D equals ??
- b. ORATES & P equals ??
- c. ORATES & H equals ??
- d. ORATES & M equals??

All winning entries will be printed in the next Guardian. Mail entries to: Lester Schonbrun, Puzzle editor, SF Bay Guardian, 1070 Bryant St., SF 94103.

## Three places in the mind

### 1. City

The keeper leans over the shoulders of the naked girl, positioning her. For one full second his hands poise weightless above her nipples

then are gone. The necks of the elders are red and scrawny, they strain forward in the metal chairs, some of them chuckling, some drooling. One in the front row

crumples to the hard floor, choking on his own tongue. As he dies his eyes flash like prisms, his mouth a blackened hole. Suddenly

the world is less brilliant. The girl folds herself up, she is very tired of this, her head in her lap, her arms hiding her breasts, the keeper

stalks off to get her a blanket, the survivors crowd around her, cursing the interruption--

Behind reinforced plate glass, technicians move deftly, silently. They must save the vital organs. Tiny droplets of plasma quiver at the mouths of plastic tubes. The television camera dollies in for a closer look at the newly extracted heart, it

expands and contracts in its electric bath, every thing is normal--

Below, men drift through the power plant like ghosts, guarding the generators from the anarchists. They have radios tucked in their shirt pockets, plugged into their heads. They listen to the play by play in one ear,

the hum of the machinery in the other--

### 2. Lake Tahoe

The cabin has two storeys of glass looking east over Agate Bay. Saturday morning the sun splits the gray clouds over the mountains across the water. By noon the four- and five-foot icicles drip steadily from the roof of the back porch. Chunks of snow warm and slide down the long green needles of the pines.

When I walk into the southwest bathroom, where I took a shower earlier, it is transformed. I left water standing on the tiled floor steam on the mirror. Now a white, fluffy rug, clean white towels on the racks. My face in the mirror. My picture

always being taken in the movie in which I am the spy until I make myself director. Sitting in front of the console in the master bedroom, watching the blue-tinted screens. Cameras in every room, microphones, speakers. In one screen somebody's wife kneading dough, in another screen somebody's woman taking off her clothes...

Sometimes one of us is present as sound only, the sound of chopping celery in the kitchen, the thump of heavy boots outside, knocking off snow...

Whether someone is watching me or not I imagine myself a little man flat on somebody's screen, doing whatever I am doing now--

we can use our powers to wire ourselves into cubicles, become voyeurs feasting on one another equally, or we can become one mind --transparent corridors we flow through like electrons as our reflections flow over and through the walls of our glass houses...

### 3. Montana

Sometimes the men take over in the kitchen-- salmon and brown rice, slices of banana with honey.

The women bead leather and sell this work for the time when anyone needs to travel to places where people use money.

The weather moves over our glass dome, which, like our eyes, like our moving walls, can be rendered instantly opaque: we pass electricity through the glass, changing it to a cloudy soundproof substance...

During the day we fold most of our rooms aside, we use sunlight like plants, and drift to sleep to our particular view of the night sky.

In the rain the musicians among us tighten our glass down, tuning our dome like the head of a drum and we dance as the pounding lights change the shadows on our swaying bodies continually--

Late afternoon, after rain, walking through the forest, the light stutters through the aspen and pine, reflects off the leaves, rippling in time with the movement of water on the vibrating drum of the lake.

Walking barefoot I learn to be intent on each step. I bend and examine two lavender flowers on a bent stem. Bursting through spiderwebs off the trail, we leave them hanging in glittering shards behind us, pause, listening and moving our minds aside as music and light pour through us

By Wilbur Wood



# Soledad Brother, the prison letters of george jackson

Reviewed by bill anderson

Coming over the bay bridge I can see spectacular sunsets--because of air pollution. The clouds are full of a color you could now call particulate red, perhaps an entirely new color never before seen, given to us by bay area industry. In the southern part of the sky the moon is already up, very silver and dramatic, and I think of the movie 2001.

I'm returning from Berkeley in a car with four students, and it comes out that I write. They immediately want to know why. One student says, 'would you keep writing if you only had a year to live?' Punk question like that. We talk some more. I say writing should get people high, should change their consciousness, and everyone in the car can agree on that. After all, we're beginning to realize, black people and third world people and white students may have an exceptional destiny to fulfill in this country.

These students in the car, their parents brought them up to believe that they don't have any power, that life is somewhere else, probably up on a screen, like John Wayne, with his fat belly, but two of them were in the people's park fight, bloody Thursday and they don't accept that conditioning any more. Not running through the basement of Dwinelle Hall you don't, trying to find a washroom to get wet paper towels to protect your lungs from tear gas and pepper gas, so you can burst back out into the sather gate area to fling more rocks at Alameda County pigs all afternoon until the fighting stops almost by mutual consent at 5:00. Time to go home, time for everybody to go home, drained, eddying down during way with hundreds of other people while in an upstairs apartment some stone freaks play Rodriguez' concerto for guitar with the window open. The music floats out into the street and the freaks sit in the window saluting with the clenched fist.

We come back from this kind of reminiscing (the people's park fight seems like it happened many years ago) and one of the students asks me what I'm writing now. I hold up the book. It's "Soledad Brother, the prison letters of George Jackson."

Jackson, along with Fleeta Drumgo and John Clutchette, stands accused of the murder of a guard in Soledad Prison in Salinas. They are the Soledad Brothers. Jackson has written a book of letters to his lawyer, Fay Stender, to Angela Davis, to someone called 'Z' and to various members of his family. As symbolically powerful as the Newton trial (the 'black' trial) or the Los Siete case (the 'brown' trial) or the one in Chicago (the 'student' trial), the ordeal of the Soledad three seems designed almost solely to stimulate our awareness of the bestiality of the American prison system (Jackson has already been in the joint 10 years, seven of them in solitary, for an offense involving some \$70.)

But no matter how heavy the political implications of the trial and of his own situation, perhaps the most moving, most expressive letters of all are the ones he has written to his parents. Jackson's parents think he is crazy (as do the parents of many of us). One time, for example, his father innocently warns the prison authorities George has been talking wild lately and might inflict injury on himself. Naturally, they put George into the hole--in solitary confinement.

When I tell the students in the car about this, they nod with perfect understanding. They don't have to be told, but of course Jackson's parents don't understand such subtleties of dealing with the Man and that fact enrages George even more. He sees that to exist in such ignorance requires a deliberate effort not to think. Jackson knows where he's at; he knows that he has to be high--serene, unafraid, together--to survive at all, and he's enraged to think that his parents, free, on the outside, cannot or will not break out of all their fears and lies to realize that they, and all blacks, are treated like dogs by the white man. Jackson has been in the joint for ten years and thinks it's

easier to become straight with yourself on the outside, but is it?

Jackson is a black militant and reads Che and Fanon and any other revolutionary material he can get his hands on. But these letters sound--and of course he wouldn't be talking about his militant efforts directly--almost as if his development, both revolutionary and spiritual, began with his refusal to 'give in' to the guards. Naturally he can't give in to them. They want him to smile when they say nigger. Instead, he tries to integrate the TV room, which is segregated by the white prisoners with the cooperation of the white guards.

The response of the authorities to his militancy is so violent--seven years in solitary and (so his lawyers believe) his present indictment on the murder charge--that it has an integrating effect on him, rather than a destructive one. This might be called the American black man's path to spiritual development--Malcolm X and Eldridge Cleaver also got it together in prison--but such a path obviously isn't for very many people. If you are a black man in a major California prison, and you go before the committee for parole you won't get it unless you 'give in.' And Jackson says you can't fool the committee; they look you in the eyes, waiting for that little flicker that signals the white flag in the heart. He refuses to give in as a matter of personal principle and finds that as a result he is engaged in a political struggle, and in a political role. But

why is it necessary for the system to take everything, he wonders.

So these letters tell the story of how George Jackson gets high, discovering that his captors (for he does not think of himself as a criminal--apparently very few prisoners do), his captors want not only his body but also his spirit. But he won't give them his spirit because then he would have nothing left, he'd be a nothing person. Instead, he gets pissed off, and he resists.

Sometimes I think that only we black people in America have the opportunity to do even so much, as if we were the only remaining sources of energy in a great, grey featureless place. Why are the white people in America so sad? George Jackson isn't sad, he dreams romantically of getting out of prison somehow and continuing the great revolutionary struggle underground, here in this country, with a woman who could accept sharing everything with him, living from a flight bag, sleeping in coal cars, eating milkweed, bloodroot, dandelions, until the new day comes.

By Marion Dibble

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By Alan Wofsy

A little more than a year ago, Judy Mazia and I went into the fresh-dressed game bird brokerage business. For about three months, we bought game birds, had them dressed out and sold the dressed birds to meat markets and restaurants. Our experience can be summarized: it was hard to find state licensed breeders with stock for sale; it was still more difficult to locate state licensed processing plants, since new state laws effectively drove the small plant out of business, and the large outfits such as Foster Farms have no time for specialty orders; and it was most difficult of all to find customers willing to pay the price which this sort of commodity must fetch.

During our short existence, we numbered San Francisco's most fastidious restaurants among our customers. The restaurateurs generally complained that their patrons' distaste for bones and anything else except the breast kept them from serving most game birds. Yet most restaurateurs otherwise think so little of the diner's discrimination that they commonly use a sauce or lavish display to embellish a long frozen bird.

On the other hand, Orsi and Julius' Castle requested fresh pheasants from us--with the feathers still on. For though a freshly killed pheasant has less taste than a chicken and is far tougher, a feathered, though eviscerated, pheasant hung for a week will develop full aroma and tenderness. Others who opted for the fresh rather than the frozen bird - at least for a time - included Alexis, Ernie's and L'Etoile.

The birds were the domesticated variety, for wild game birds cannot legally be sold in California. What can be sold are only those birds which are fed principally by humans. Anyone raising these game-type birds in California must be licensed by The Department of Fish and Game, which publishes a list of all breeders having stock for sale. (Available by calling the Department of Fish and Game, 557-2237.)

• • •

Most breeders raise pheasants for hunting clubs, which are also the main customers for quail, mallard ducks and chukar partridges.

Since game birds are ideal entrees for the present holiday season, the diligent gourmand may wish to track down some of our past suppliers.

The only pheasant breeder in the state who has his own processing plant is Skip Emerson of the Summit Pheasant Farm in Los Gatos, 353-1851. Skip freezes his birds immediately unless someone specifically requests a fresh bird. He also does smoking.

• • •

Some breeders who have live birds but may help you with dressing include: Bill McDoulett of Castro Valley, 582-8492 (pheasant, partridge, quail); Verna Krout & Sons of Petaluma, 707-762-8613 (pheasant) and Ronald Henry of Clayton, 682-5634 (pheasant).

Peter K. Lew of San Francisco, 386-2005, hauls live birds from the valley and usually peddles in Chinatown on a Saturday. A 4-H Club member, Dan Clark of San Mateo, 345-3730, may still have mallard ducks, pheasant and quail, but make sure he doesn't skin them. Further away, Dick Hansen of the Running Quail Ranch in Fresno, 209-264-8810, produces partridges, pheasant and Valley quail.

Some out-of-state breeders do shipping and you can write for price lists and terms. Le Jeune's Quail Farm, Rt. 2, Box 112, Sulphur, La., has bob white quail. Frost Game Farm, Colma, Wis., has mallard ducks. L & L Pheasantry, Hegins, Pa., breeds wild turkey and guinea fowl. And Iron Gate Products, 424 W. 54th St., New York, N.Y., imports Scotch grouse.

About the only game-type bird readily available in retail stores is the baby pigeon -- the squab. It is most easily found in the markets on the east side of Grant Avenue between Broadway and Pacific in San Francisco's Chinatown.

Partridge and guinea fowl also are found occasionally in the Chinatown markets.

Fresh ducks, though available in Chinatown and at better poultry shops elsewhere, are also hard to find. This is because there is only one local producer of ducks, Otto Reichardt of Petaluma. So if you have duck at a restaurant, the odds are that it's a frozen duck from Long Island or points south.

• • •

Some poultry shops where you're liable to find good fresh birds: Town Foods and Union Square Foods in downtown S.F., Quilici's of Polk, Rossi's in North Beach, Berkeley Fish and Poultry in Berkeley, Petrini's in San Mateo, Morrie's and Draeger's in Menlo Park, Liddicoat in Palo Alto, Community Fish and Poultry in Burlingame, Mac's in Monterey and The Eggery on Bodega in Petaluma.

In the event you get a game bird but don't know how to cook it, send 25 cents to Judy Mazia, c/o The Bay Guardian, 1070 Bryant St. for a two page list of game bird recipes.

## Rolfe Peterson Reviews Theatre

**Merchant of Venice (ACT)**  
**No Place to Be Somebody**  
(On Broadway)  
**Dear Love (Geary)**  
**Will Rogers' U.S.A. (ACT)**  
**Lovely Ladies, Kind Gentlemen**  
(Civic Light Opera)

Its directors have never been the strength of ACT. They have frequently mistaken posturing for style ("Man and Superman"), pomp for drama (parts of "Hadrian VII"), effeminacy for sensitivity ("Hamlet") and choreography for human behavior (some of William Ball's spectacles).

There has been a consistent tendency to over-do things; from the costuming of "Oedipus Rex" and "Hadrian VII" to the pantomime of "Our Town."

There were entire seasons between "Tartuffe" and "The Tavern" when no attempt at comedy quite came off, mostly because of a painful heavy-handedness with lines that ought to be tossed off lightly or thrown away.

This year, two new directors brought genuine theatrical humor back to ACT---Wayne Carson, a migratory bird who stayed only long enough to stage "Adaption/Next," and Ellis Rabb, who staged "The Tavern" and decided to stay on. He has now fulfilled the promise of that production, and strengthened ACT's corps of directors, by directing the new season's opening production, an impressive "Merchant of Venice."

The setting is modern Venice, with Ken Ruta turning Antonio into a Mastroianni, and Deborah Sussel as Jessica going topless. The effort at being terribly witty occasionally turns self-conscious and strained, but most of the time it works.

### Big scenes

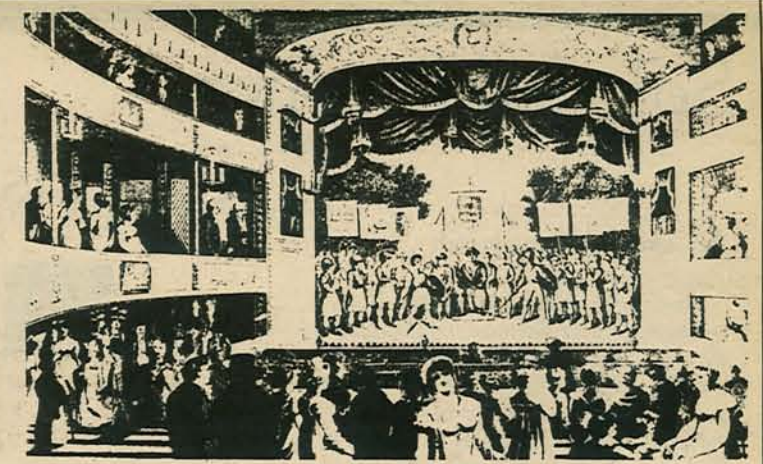
The big scenes in this play are the suitors' selection of the caskets and the courtroom flim-flam. Both are crudely theatrical, and Rabb manages to keep their theatricality while mitigating their crudity.

Peter Donat is superb as Shylock, and many of the other performances are very good. William Paterson and Tom Hancock, as the two suitors, augment ACT's careful classroom technique into entertainment. Even Ann Weldon, who has come so many croppers with ACT, does well.

Rabb doesn't succeed with everything. I don't suppose any director can make the clowning of Launcelot Gobbo anything but tedious and offensive, or soften the brutal sadism of the cat-and-mouse game Portia plays with Shylock in the court scene.

And Rabb contributes some annoyance of his own by making every friendly handclasp a homosexual embrace. The heterosexual critic is tempted to say something sharp about this, like "There are more fairies in this 'The Merchant of Venice' than there are in 'A Midsummer Night's Dream'!"--but too much carping might be interpreted as latent homosexuality in the critic, so we'll let that go.

There's no arguing the fact that "The Merchant of Venice"



is an offensively anti-Semitic play, and much of the humor, like the kidding about the rings, is on the level of "I Love Lucy." But the language is Shakespeare's and this swinging production is something to see.

### See it

At press time, a closing date in early January had been announced for "No Place to Be Somebody." If it's still at the On Broadway, go see it.

It's another Black play, and God knows they're a drug on the market, with "The Ofay Watcher," "Ceremonies in Dark Old Men," "Big Time Buck White," and "Joy '69" all in recent memory, and LeRoi Jones not far back. But this one combines most of the strengths and few of the weaknesses of the others.

The strengths are raw vitality, forceful acting, reckless telling-it-like-it-is and a sense of humor. The weaknesses are unrefined dramaturgy, excessive length, self-indulgence in naughty words and the triteness that permeates the Message we have heard several times before.

The performers I admired most were Wally Taylor, Ronnie Thompson, Chuck Daniel, and especially Marge Eliot and Henry Baker. Charles Gordone, who won a Pulitzer Prize for writing this play, breaks lots of rules but gets away with it.

### Dear Love

"Dear Love" was Jerome Kilty's strained effort to repeat his success with "Dear Liar," a dialogue based on the letters of Bernard Shaw and Mrs. Pat Campbell.

But where the Shaw-Campbell correspondence was full of wit and stimulation, the letters of Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning, from which "Dear Love" is drawn, offer only sentiment and cuteness. "Dear Love" did give us, among its bland pleasures, a notable display of acting ability and personal charm by Myrna Loy.

Another hopeful enterprise modelled after a previous success (in this case, Hal Holbrook's "Mark Twain Tonight") was an evening of James Whitmore reciting Will Rogers under the title of "Will Rogers' U.S.A."

Although Will wasn't the fount of comic wisdom that Mark Twain was, his stuff is a live and funny today if the nuggets are carefully sieved. Paul Shyre worked the sieve, and it seemed to me that he allowed too many weak jokes about doctors and hospitals and a few other subjects to clutter up the evening and slow things down between the really good ones that still bite and amuse.

### No brilliance

James Whitmore, although capable and professional and appropriately casual, was not the brilliant, electrifying kind of performer that a tour de force requires.

But he had some good lines: "I'm not worried about our political leaders getting us out of the mess that this country's in. After all, ignorance got us into it, and---"

Or, "About that U.S. gunboat we sent up that river in China---how'd we feel if the Chinese sent a boatload of marines up the Mississippi and said all they were doing was protecting their laundries in Memphis?" "Will Rogers' U.S.A." had its therapeutic moments.

"Lovely Ladies, Kind Gentlemen" is another mixture as before, but the ingredients are so hopelessly out of date that one marvels at the demented judgment of those connected with such an uncalled-for enterprise.

Shades of "South Pacific," "The King and I," "Flower Drum Song" and, of course, "The Teahouse of the August Moon," the play on which "Lovely Ladies, Kind Gentlemen" is based. I am now convinced that nobody needs another musical version of any known play, book or movie, especially one founded on patronizing ethnic humor and tired World War II military caricature.

This one is a creaking throw-back to the early 50's, and I found no pleasure in it except for a spot of good dancing and a few laughs from Remak Ramsey's funny performance in a supporting role.

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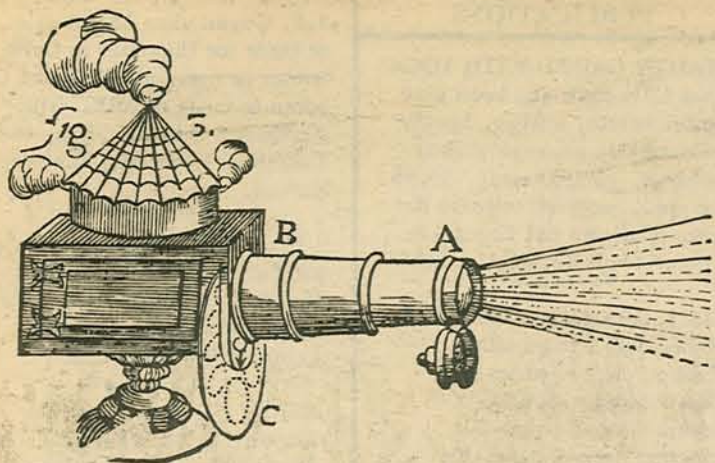


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## Margo Skinner Reviews Cinema

WUSA (Alexandria,  
Mission Drive-In)  
Joe (Vogue)  
The Owl and the Pussycat  
(UA Cinema)  
Borsalino (Stage Door)  
Scrooge (Cinema 21,  
Cinema Sun Valley, Concord)

"WUSA," terrible and compassionate Americana, makes any foreign director's anti-Americanism look tepid.

Its central figures are all Outsiders. Paul Newman plays a failed musician, handsome face bloated with booze, ath-

letic figure in expensive clothes that he buys by disc-jockeying and doctoring the news for a right-wing Louisiana "patriotic" station.

Joanne Woodward is the waitress barmaid with whom he shacks up, cheeks scarred by knife, blonde hair greying and dark at the roots. Tony Perkins lones it as the inarticulate ex-Peace Corpsman who turns assassin when he finds out about the Establishment.

With them we move through a blatant Mardi Gras, shabby Royal Street bars, the shacks of starving blacks, posh WUSA offices, the idiotic luxury of a Playboy Club, with its sexy, strait-jacketed Bunnies.

"WUSA" falls apart in the middle of its climax, the assassination at the rally. How much of this powerful film was cut? But Miss Woodward's tortured jail scene pulls it back together, and really, one just couldn't bear any more of this sleazy, corrupt, heartbreaking America.

"Joe" is part of the same neo-fascist scene, a hard-hat gun collector who hates "niggers, hippies and liberals." He buddies up with an advertising executive from another world (Dennis Patrick) who's bashed

the brains out of his daughter's pusher lover in primitive, almost ritualistic fury and unacknowledged sexual jealousy.

Shock and laughter follow each other with fantastic rapidity as this Odd Couple search for the girl in the coffee houses and pads of New York's Lower East Side, revealing their basic similarity.

This extraordinary black tragi-comedy punches you in the guts with its ending. Brilliantly acted, it should gain an Oscar nomination for Peter Boyle as the working-class fascist.

The conflict of earnest, would-be-writer Owl George Segal and his Manhattan alley Pussycat is much more fun. Barbara Streisand mugs magnificently as the "model and actress" part-time hooker who teaches him what life is all about in a picaresque affair that begins in his scruffy East Village apartment.

Wearing the freakiest night clothes ever on screen and using the saltiest language, the superstar is superb, though still sometimes strident enough to need to be turned down ten decibels. Set in a grubby New York as real as greasy hot dogs frying on 42nd Street, "The Owl and the Pussycat" is bawdy, hilarious and heart-warming.

"Borsalino," another gas, stars Alain Delon (who looks like Valentino) and Jean-Paul Belmondo (ugly, sexy and charming) as two aspiring hoods who rise to gang czardom in 1930 Marseilles.

More than a spoof of Hollywood's great gangster period, "Borsalino" is a delightful original. The fishmaker caper (whores dressed as customers, rotten seafood among the fresh, and a frenzied horde of cats) is alone worth the admission price for the year's best comedy.

"Scrooge" is that rarity, a really good family movie. Thirty-three-year old Albert Finney is brilliant as the ancient curmudgeon, Alec Guinness romps sepulchral in dead-white makeup as Marley's ghost and Kenneth More makes a magnificent Spirit of Christmas Present, with a luxurious cornucopia of goodies and glitter.

It's not all holly and ivy: the faceless Spirit of Christmas to Come will make your teeth rattle. The Cratchits, Fezziwigs and cockney kids are straight out of Dickens' pages.

The weakest element is Leslie Bricusse's music, but who cares? "Scrooge" is the best "Christmas Carol" yet, a joy for the young in heart. God bless us every one.

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## THE QUE

## Frederic Stout Reviews Little Theatre

### Pitschell Players

The Pitschell Players are a good model of the "peoples' theatre" of the future. Their satirical revue is bright and friendly, and the company achieves a real sense of communication with the audience. Until the first of the year they are appearing free on Friday and Saturday nights at 8:30 at the Intersection coffeehouse, 756 Union St., near Washington Square, 397-6061.

An evening with the Pitschell Players is like Mad Magazine come to life only better. It consists of songs by Jon Fromer (whose "Maxwell Street" and "The Git-Box Giggle" are worth a visit all by themselves), a series of sketches directed by Ann Bowen, and improvisations suggested by the audience. The players bubble over with a youth and charm that artfully masks their solid professional skill.

John Pray and Paul Wilson do a great television newscast, including a deadpan KGO editorial that encapsulates every TV editorial you have ever seen: "Some say poverty exists. Others say it does not. We believe that both these views are extreme and that the truth lies somewhere in between."

Diann Henrichson is a charming snake of a woman in a sketch which pits her as a bookish introvert confronted by Christopher Pray as a self-involved lifestyle revolutionary who spends his days "reading Lenin for the People!" Pray's characterization hits the mark so perfectly that the scene evokes both guffaws and hisses, often from the same people.

The players are backed up by Dick Sparepenny on piano and Richard Kalman on lights. After the first of January the Pitschell Players may be looking for a new theatre. If you know of an available stage, let them know.

### Magic Theatre

The Magic Theatre is currently presenting "Sheriff Bill," a western like you never saw a western. Find the Steppenwolf (2136 San Pablo Ave., Berkeley, 548-6336), wander down a muddy and unlighted alleyway, pay two bucks and you will see a savagely funny play, written and directed by John Lion, that dissects the psycho-sexual elements of America's politics of violence.

Bouyantly produced with great imagination, "Sheriff Bill" depicts the political rise (by assassination) and fall of a raunchy neanderthal whose symbol of power is an enormous silver penis.

The cast, many of whom play dual roles, is nearly faultless. Gloria Miller's dancehall madam and Christopher Brooks' black lumpen outlaw are perfect. As the Mansonesque John Strangeweeder, Charles Goodman is properly ghoulish, and Dudley Knight plays the assassinated Sheriff Diddle as a brilliant mixture of John Wayne, John Kennedy, and Uncle Sam. Bob Hirschfield plays Sheriff Bill's gargantuan wife Maybel forcefully and sympathetically.

Best of all, E. Kerrigan Prescott portrays the brutal Sheriff Bill with a sustained energy that is horrific to behold. Special comment should also go to Ann Morrell whose costumes are superb.

### Berkeley Repertory Theatre

The new production of the Berkeley Repertory Theatre (2980 College Avenue, Berkeley, 848-2791) is George Bernard Shaw's "Too True To Be Good." The BRT is a thoroughly professional company of more than 20 actors and directors and that the play itself fails to come across is no fault of the cast.

William Douglas' direction is timid and unimaginative, but he plays the role of Napoleon Alexander Trotsky Meek, the private who knows more about the army than the generals, with precision and verve.

Robert Mooney is perfect as the social-climbing Colonel Tallboys, and Ken Grantham nicely captures the rhythms of Shaw's dialogue in his characterization of Aubrey, the thief-preacher-philosopher who acts as the chief "voice" of the action.

Unfortunately, "Too True To Be Good" is a cranky, halting, and uncertain play full of perplexing shifts from whimsy to moving philosophic polemic.

### Julian Theatre

Through December 19th, the Julian Theatre is presenting Eugene Ionesco's "Killer With No Motive" at the Potrero Hill Neighborhood House, 953 de Haro Street, 647-8098, every Thursday, Friday, and Saturday night.

The play, written in 1955, is a profoundly chilling investigation of the problem of commitment and alienation in a disoriented future world (very much like our own) in which scientifically planned "perfect cities" are surface heavens and inner hells.

Constructed with the stylized simplicity of a Greek drama, the play climaxes with the confrontation between the modern Everyman, Berenger and the enigmatic murderer represented by a mocking, off-stage laugh.

"Killer With No Motive" is a tremendously difficult piece of drama, but the accomplished Julian company is more than equal to the challenge.

Richard Reineccius' direction alternates between realism and pantomime and masterfully captures the mannered abstraction of the play.

The light and sound effects are eerily imaginative. As Berenger, Malcolm Gray's almost acrobatic sense of body and voice movement is stunning. His long last scene, confronting the unintelligible terror of the killer on an almost darkened stage, is an impressive tour de force.

Gene Mabrey is excellent as the Architect-Politician, as is Bob Lashbrook as Berenger's mysterious friend Eduard who may or, then again, may not be the killer himself. Victoria Ashfield's ballet-like precision in three small roles is superb. Without question, the Julian Theatre's "Killer With No Motive" is one of the finest serious dramas around.

**TOO TRUE TO BE GOOD**  
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# Hoover and Nixon -- a chicken in every pot

While it's true enough that there are few real differences between the Tweedledees of the Democratic Party and the Tweedledums of the Republican Party, there is one important difference that has been painfully evident over the past 42 years:

Republican administrations foster unemployment, Democratic administrations fight it.

Consider Herbert Hoover and his promise to find the prosperity that lurked just around the corner -- a search in which he used policies designed to help the wealthy people who were close to President Hoover and his fellow Republican leaders.

The theory, so the GOP line went, was that the wealthy would use the help to in turn help the poor people below

them. There would be jobs for everyone, a chicken in every pot and a car in every garage.

It didn't work out quite that way, of course. So into the White House came Franklin Roosevelt and the Democrats, with economic policies designed to appeal to a broad electorate by, among other things, creating jobs through government work projects and other special programs.

Then came Dwight Eisenhower with the old GOP medicine again. The result was economic recession and constantly rising unemployment.

The Democrats reversed things again under Kennedy and Johnson, with unemployment declining steadily to record lows.

This significantly permitted a stress on providing job training and other help to those who remained unemployed -- minorities, the young, working women and others who always needed more help than anyone else but who previously got less of it than anyone.

The help was granted in token amounts, but it was granted nevertheless and, if nothing else, stirred many previously silent groups into action on their own behalf. Think not of the woefully underfinanced war on poverty, but of the activity by the poor which it inspired.

But then came President Nixon, and it was back to the Hoover policies. Inflation had to be curbed -- but certainly not by any measures that might endanger the constantly growing profits of banks and corporations.

## No frills

Keep those interest rates high. Help the wealthy and surely they will help all of us, just as Hoover and Eisenhower said they would. Cut way back on such frills as the anti-poverty program and the construction of low and moderately priced housing -- those things not being directly beneficial to Nixon's political friends.

Naturally, there will be rising unemployment. That is, after all, a trademark of mod-

ern Republican administrations, and this administration is especially opposed to collecting taxes from the rich to help create jobs for the poor. It is opposed, in fact, to just about any measure that would expand the economy by forcing its friends to provide more jobs or otherwise share their wealth with more people.

Unemployment, as a matter of fact, has been increasing at as rapid a rate with Nixon in office as it had been declining during the latter part of the Johnson Administration.

By now, at least six of every 100 Americans who are looking for work are not able to find it -- the highest unemployment rate in seven years.

As usual, the rate among minority workers is about twice that of workers generally; and the rate for women and minors, although still below the general rate, has been rising steadily.

There are other special problems. The number of people who are unemployed because they were laid off rather than because they quit is growing. So is the number of people who have been unemployed for periods of longer than one month.

The situation is even worse when measured strictly within California and the San Francisco Bay Area, where there are severe problems based on cutbacks in military spending.

No one should expect the situation to get much better. Policies that visit such hardship on

so many millions of people obviously should be changed, but look at it politically:

The people who suffer probably wouldn't vote for a GOP administration whatever happened; they've already suffered too many Herbert Hoovers for that. But the Republicans can be sure that the wealthy will stand with them, since the policies protect the wealthy.

And the GOP can hope that the slowing of the economy caused by the shrinking number of jobs also will drive down prices -- though not profits -- and otherwise curb the inflation which is a chief concern of the huge group in the economic middle which decides elections.

## Mis-calculations

There may be some serious miscalculations by the administration, however. Its attempts to curb inflation are getting nowhere, even though the policies behind it are throwing increasing numbers of people out of work.

What the administration must be most concerned about is that the growing unemployment is beginning to hit the middle-class workers whose votes it needs.

It is true that the administration has had the political advantage in this situation so far. For many of the workers have turned their frustrations toward such natural political allies as minority group organizations, for seeking scarce jobs, and toward those whose ecological concerns prompt them to oppose particular job development projects like U.S. Steel's waterfront complex in San Francisco.

It also is true that Republicans generally were successful in blunting the attempts of union leaders to turn the workers' economic anger toward the White House during the recent election campaign, along with that of all other voters who were suffering economically.

But the economic issue may yet catch fire. And then Richard Nixon will be in serious trouble, just as Herbert Hoover was in trouble before him.

— Dick Meister

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# ON GUARD

## Onward and upward

## Free and competitive

## The grand jury cometh

San Francisco Supervisors talk a lot these days about physical development of the city. But if you would like to know what they do, as opposed to what they say, you'll have to look at the record.

So here's the record -- a listing of the votes on the major blockbuster stuff before the board:

### WATERFRONT

May 15, 1967, on approving creation of Rockefeller Center on the Embarcadero.

AYE: Beeman, Blake, Boas, Ertola, Francois, McCarthy, Morrison, O'Shea, Tamaras, von Beroldingen.

ABSENT: Casey

Sept. 3, 1968, on attempt by Morrison to make all leases for non-maritime uses of port lands subject to supervisory approval.

AYE: McCarthy, Morrison, Pelosi, von Beroldingen. NO: Blake, Boas, Ertola, Francois, Mailliard, Mendelsohn, Tamaras.

April 6, 1970, on amendments to the Planning Code that set building heights from 40 feet at water's edge to 84 feet at the base of Telegraph Hill.

AYE: Barbagelata, Boas, Ertola, Feinstein, Francois, Gonzales, Mailliard, Mendelsohn, Pelosi, Tamaras, von Beroldingen. (Unanimous.)

June 29, 1970, on port Commission request to defer action on proposed 400-foot height limit (because of wish for a 550 foot limit).

AYE: Barbagelata, Ertola, Francois, Gonzales, Mailliard, Mendelsohn, Tamaras, von Beroldingen. NO: Boas, Feinstein. ABSENT: Pelosi.

Nov. 16, 1970, on delaying decision on U.S. Steel project for 90 days (which would aid U.S. Steel Strategy.)

AYE: Ertola, Francois, Gonzales, Mendelsohn, Tamaras, von Beroldingen. NO: Boas, Feinstein, Mailliard, Pelosi. ABSENT: Barbagelata.

### INTERNATIONAL MARKET CENTER

July 15, 1968, on approving creation of this blockbuster development on Telegraph Hill.

AYE: Blake, Boas, Ertola, Francois, Gonzales, Mailliard, Mendelsohn, Pelosi, Tamaras, von Beroldingen. NO: Morrison.

### ALCATRAZ

Aug. 4, 1969, on appropriating \$22,000 for appraisal and proposed leasing of the island.

AYE: Blake, Boas, Ertola, Francois, Gonzales, Mailliard, Mendelsohn, Morrison, Pelosi, Tamaras, von Beroldingen. (Unanimous.)

Sept. 29, 1969, approving, in principle, the offer of Lamar Hunt to lease and develop Alcatraz.

AYE: Blake, Ertola, Francois, Gonzales, Mailliard, von Beroldingen. NO: Boas, Mendelsohn, Morrison, Pelosi, Tamaras.

### TRANSAMERICA

July 28, 1969, ordering vacating part of Merchant Street (crucial to the project) for the building site.

AYE: Blake, Boas, Ertola, Francois, Gonzales, Mailliard, Mendelsohn, Pelosi, Tamaras, von Beroldingen. NO: Morrison.

**STOP THE PRESSES:** The San Francisco Art Commission on Dec. 7, 1970, voted 7-3 to support the "concept" of Ferry Port Platform and U.S. Steel. AYE: Ernest Born, Eric Hoffer, Thomas Hsieh, Anita Martinez, Antonio Sotomayor, Ransome Cook, William Wallace. NO: Ruth Asawa, Alec Yuill-Thornton, David Hayes. PRESENT BUT NOT VOTING: Harold Zellerbach, commission president. ABSENT: Lois De Grazia, Elsie Lyle and Mayor Alioto.

"All newspapers, be they great or small, daily or weekly, liberal or conservative, rural or metropolitan, hold a sacred trust as guardians of a free press and custodians of the people's inalienable right to free speech.

"Today, as in centuries past, the free press of America is the people's major bulwark against tyranny. It need not submit to any governmental ideological regulation; it is protected in its priceless right to publish freely, without fear of reprisals."

So said Scott Newhall, Chronicle editor, in a long Dec. 10 editorial putting the Examiner to the sword for refusing to run stag movie ads. (Title: "The Case of the Obscene Cash Register.")

Newhall, bless his swashbuckling soul, has aptly put the case for the Guardian's constitutional lawsuit against the Examiner/Chronicle monopoly and the special act of Congress that legalizes it.

The key to the Guardian suit is in his last line: (1) a newspaper "need not" submit to regulation, but the Ex/Chron did willingly, with wrists outstretched, when it lobbied the "Failing Newspaper Act" into law; (2) The Guardian has enormous difficulty in publishing "freely" because this special law allows the Ex/Chron to charge a high joint advertising rate and thereby pre-empt most of the available newspaper ad revenue in town.

If successful before the U.S. Supreme Court, the Guardian's suit would strike down the law, break up the Examiner/Chronicle monopoly and restore newspaper competition in San Francisco and 21 other U.S. cities with similar joint monopoly agreements.

To finance the suit, the Guardian has formed a special fund-raising committee, The Fund for a Free and Competitive Press. It is headed by Jerrold L. Werthimer, professor of journalism at San Francisco State College; Nathan B. Blumberg, former dean of the School of Journalism at the University of Montana, and now a visiting professor of journalism at the University of California and Kenneth Stewart, UC professor of journalism emeritus.

Our attorneys estimate \$40,000 or so will be needed for the entire case, about \$2,000 to cover immediate expenses.

Contributions may be mailed in any amount to the Fund for a Free and Competitive Press, Suite 4, 1070 Bryant St., SF 94103

Situation report on the 1970 grand jury:

This Fall the Guardian asked each member of the San Francisco Grand Jury in a formal letter to support a formal inquiry into the failure of the city to live up to the City Charter and Raker Act, buy out PG&E and sell its own cheap public power to its citizens. (See previous Guardians.)

Grand Jury Foreman Ray Hackett, at the next jury session, branded the request a circulation-building gimmick "by a newspaper of limited circulation," according to authoritative sources.

Hackett also announced to his fellow jurors that, since the Guardian's publisher had not asked for an acknowledgment of the letters suggesting the inquiry, no acknowledgment would be sent.

Gustav Knecht, who heads the Grand Jury committee that oversees the Public Utilities Commission and thus would conduct the inquiry, had a ready excuse for not wanting to take part in an inquiry.

Knecht, a stockbroker at Dean Witter & Co., said he recommended PG&E stocks to his clients and that he couldn't possibly investigate the Guardian's complaint. "I have a conflict of interest," he said.

Instead of undertaking any investigation, the jury routinely sent the letter to Oral Moore, head of the city's Hetch Hetchy power department, and asked him to send back a reply.

Bruce Brugmann, Guardian publisher, called Hackett to confirm these points. Hackett became angry and accused Brugmann of getting secret, unauthorized information from grand jury sessions. He threatened at one point to subpoena Brugmann and force him, under threat of a contempt citation, to reveal his grand jury sources.

Brugmann said he wouldn't reveal his sources, but he would be glad to appear and talk about how PG&E was

bilking San Francisco businesses and residences of \$30 million a year. "Isn't this more important than the identity of my sources?"

"We're going to have a facedown on this," Hackett said.

## 'It's all hypothetical'

It was zippy, that full-page Shell Oil ad in local newspapers on Sept. 29, produced by the Kenyon & Eckhardt agency:

"See it, that little puff up there!

"It's upsetting. It bothers you and it bothers us.

"Still, it only happens on a few and far between basis. In fact, so few and far between that we wish there could be a clean air list of some kind. You know, a really good-and-honest one.

"It would be good for your morale.

"And ours.

"For example, if you knew that Shell refineries, chemical plants or whatever, in Wilmington-Dominguez, Martinez and Anacortes, didn't do a single harmful thing to our atmosphere for 33 days, 23 hours and 57 minutes during the month of August, you'd think we were doing a pretty fair job.

"Not perfect, mind you. After all, three minutes is still three minutes.

"But we're going all out to get there."

Only three minutes in August?

That's front page news. So the Guardian contacted

William Devereux at Shell's public relations department for elaboration.

Devereux said, however, that "the ad doesn't say Shell pollutes only three minutes a month."

That, he said, was "conjecture" by the Guardian.

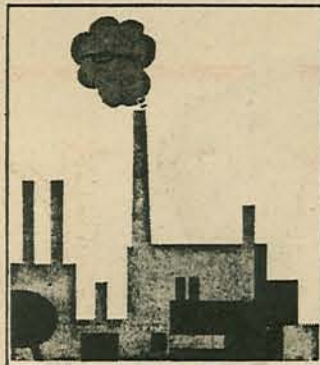
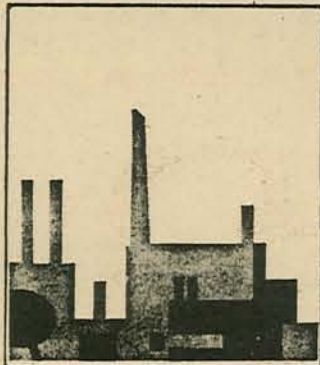
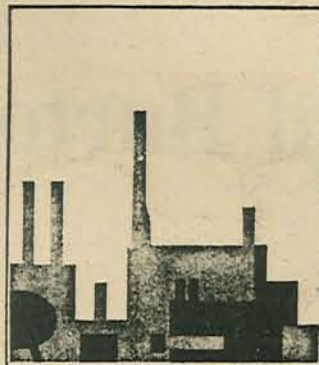
It may be conjecture, but the facts of Shell's pollution are not:

Shell violated pollution limits for at least three minutes at least five times in August, according to the Bay Area Air Pollution Control District

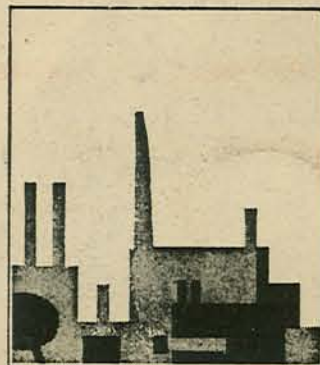
Shell puts at least 41.6 tons of pollutants into the air each day even when the company is not violating regulations, according to BAAPCD.

Shell is one of the top 10 industrial polluters in the Bay Area and, according to BAAPCD's latest figures, has made the top five for three of the five major categories of pollution: for nitrogen oxides (11 tons per day) hydrocarbons (9.9 tons per day) and particulates (1.7 tons per day).

If you knew about these facts of Shell pollution, you'd think Shell's advertising department was doing a pretty fair job -- although not perfect, mind you.



oops.



From full page Shell Oil ad of Sept. 29